OPPRESSION, MARGINALISATION AND EDUCATION IN KERALA: IN DIALOGUE WITH FREIRE

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

EDUCATION

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This Thesis has been completed as a requirement

for a postgraduate research degree of the University of Winchester

MPhil/PhD THESES

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ABSTRACT FOR THESIS

OPPRESSION, MARGINALISATION AND EDUCATION IN KERALA: IN DIALOGUE WITH FREIRE

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FACULTY OF EDUCATION

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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The primary aim of this research is to develop my own critical perspective on oppression, marginalisation and education in Kerala, India. I centrally focus on Freire's educational thoughts. Banking education produces a teacher-student dichotomy to serve the oppressor's ideology, but this dichotomy breaks in problem-posing education. This study as a whole critiques these ideas to revisit Freire's dichotomy between banking and problem-posing education and between liberation and oppression. I also explore the complexities of applying Freire's concepts in Kerala's context, especially regarding the Indian caste system.

Freire developed these concepts in dialogue with the agricultural workers in Brazil. There are many commonalities between the peasants in Brazil and the Adivasi community in Kerala: both Brazil and India are stratified societies; both suffered from colonialism, feudalism and slavery. I share common experiences of oppression and marginalisation with the Adivasi community in Southern Wayanad in Kerala, and in this thesis I identify how non-formal education marginalises people.

Chapter Two provides a theoretical framework for the study as a whole, drawing on empirical literature on Self Help Groups, community-based organisations and my experiences of oppression, marginalisation and education in Kerala. Chapter Three shows how my literature review informs the philosophical aspects of my methodology, revisits my intended dialogical methodology, and demonstrates empirical aspects of my data collection and analysis within the mixed method approach. Chapter Four presents reflective accounts of my fieldwork meetings to minimise the unavoidable elements of oppression and marginalisation in fieldwork participation. Chapters Five and Six together explore meetings as education, oppression and marginalisation with regard to the Adivasi community's engagement in community work beyond the false binaries. Chapter Seven explore how the participants' stories talk back to Freire while presenting my theoretical, methodological and empirical findings and their relevance outside Kerala Society.

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCING CRITICAL INCIDENTS[1] AND IMPETUS FOR THIS STUDY

My research seeks to develop a critical perspective on oppression, marginalisation and education in my home country, India. In this study, I chose Paulo Freire's (1978; 1985; 1994; 1998a; 1998b; 2000; 2005) critical theories of education and oppression as the central conceptual framework for analysis. Since my experiences play a significant role in choosing this topic, I introduce myself before introducing Freire or related scholars.Importantly, the origin of this research cannot be explained without including my experiences of poverty that stopped my academic career (1993), my traditional occupation of Goldsmithy that brought back my career (1999) and finally my remarkable achievement in the MA sociology examination (2004), which enabled me to come to the UK (2006) for higher studies. A newspaper journalist Babu (2004:14) writes of these critical incidents when I achieved first rank for my MA: Sociology examination:

Figure One
Got a shining rank, but...


ഊതിക്കാച്ചിയ റാങ്കുണ്ട്, പക്ഷേ....

MA Sociology rank holder Syamprasad is engaged in goldsmithy
Source: Babu,K.A (2004:14) Oothikkachiya rankundu, pakshe, Mathrubhumi, Friday, 31st December

[1]Scholars such as Tripp (2012) and Woods (1992; 1993) discuss the importance of recording critical incidents in Education. Tripp (2012) writes of the origin of the term critical incident: 'the term critical incident comes from History where it refers to some event or situation that marked a significant turning-point in the life of a person or an institution (Such as a political party) or in some social phenomenon(industrialisation, a war or some legal negotiations)(24)'

> Syamprasad's first rank shines like the melting gold in his furnace (Sic). Kottayam CMS college bagged all the three ranks when Mahatma Gandhi University published the MA examination result; the first rank is pure as Gold. His educational career since pre-degree has been affected by an ill father who is now paralysed.He successfully completed his pre-degree in 1993, but discontinued studies as he took over family responsibilities from his father. He was then trained in Goldsmithy; he has financially supported his sister to study up to degree level. After six years, he joined Mahatma Gandhi University to study his BA in sociology. Since then, his furnace also produced heat for him to produce knowledge in his hut, located in only 2.5 cents of land (Sic). Again, he has to challenge his destiny: his mother was diagnosed with cancer; he was not getting enough work; these made him work hard to get ahead. Despite passing through these difficulties he completed his BA with first class; in the meantime, he worked as a private tutor with his traditional occupation. He then joined as a full time student at CMS College. When the result came, he stood in first position with a mark of 77%. However, he is not excited much; difficulties wiped this brilliant student's smile out of his face (Sic). He has now a keen desire to complete his PhD. But, he is helpless due to his family responsibilities.

(This is an exact translation of the contents in Figure One: I did not change symbolic phrases that might seem out of context in English. Chapter Three discusses the struggle of the dialogical nature of transcription (see Sections 3.2.1; 3.4.1)

This newspaper article indeed changed my life; it caused me to minimise my hurdles to a greater extent: Kerala State Kudumbashree Mission initiated a project preventing intergenerational transmission of poverty by empowering educated youths. The CDS chairperson of my Panchayat did not hesitate to give me an application form after reading my story. As a member of a Kudumbashree family I was therefore sponsored to seek higher education and work part-time in the UK; this greatly influenced my decision to choose Kudumbashree Self-help Groups as one focus for empirical investigation. However, there are many things missing in the above article.

My adolescent dreams also shaped my initial understanding of my difficult financial situation and marginalisation. Initially, I was not comfortable in my new role as a goldsmith after pre-degree: I saw classmates beginning engineering or medical degrees, becoming civil servants of the Government, going abroad, or engaging with their traditional occupations like me. I was worried and had sleepless nights; I had a dream every examination time: 'Syam, you have got an examination coming up tomorrow morning, but you have not read the books or studied any lecture notes.' I then woke feeling apprehensive. This recurring nightmare made me jealous of my classmates, and aware of the way in which I was marginalised like other members of my community who rarely had an opportunity to receive formal education or who withdrew from formal education due to poverty or liabilities. My adolescent dreams influenced my decision to fill the gaps in my academic life. I was the first person in my village to successfully complete

secondary schooling with a first class, the first in my paternal family to attend college and the first person in my village to seek higher education abroad. These 'critical incidents' eventually led me to research common experiences of marginalisation with similarly-marginalised peers in my country.

When writing a research proposal for my second MA programme (IHRM) at the University of Northampton in the UK (2007), I mentioned 'critical consciousness'. My tutor said: 'hang on… I got something for you.' He gave me a book, which was Freire's *'Pedagogy of the Oppressed'*. This was the first time that I heard Freire. Although I mentioned 'critical pedagogy' and 'critical consciousness' in my MPhil thesis (Syamprasad, 2008), I never come across Freire. This made me incorporate Freire to supplement my central theoretical framework in my original PhD proposal.

However, it took me a long time to choose Freire as the central focus of this study. My initial journey through structuralism, post-structuralism and reflexive sociology (Syamprasad, 2008) finally reached Freire's pedagogical thoughts and I reviewed the following books: *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (2000), *Pedagogy of Hope* (1994), *Education for Critical Consciousness* (2005), *Pedagogy of Freedom* (1998 a),*teachers as cultural workers: Letters to those who dare teach*(1998 b), *ThePolitics of Education* (1985) and *Pedagogy in Process* (1978).

My initial engagement with these works of Freire and his motivations in writing these books inspired me to review the literature on oppression and marginalisation in Kerala, write up my thesis and share experiences with the participants. In *Pedagogy of Hope*, Freire (1994: 16-17) writes that *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* has its origin in the childhood and adolescent experiences of Freire in Brazil:

> Pedagogy of the Oppressed could not have gestated within me solely by reason of my stint with SESI. But, my stint with SESI was fundamental to its development. Even before Pedagogy of the Oppressed, my time with SESI wove a tapestry of which Pedagogy was a kind of inevitable extension.

Freire recalls his experiences as a teacher and a director of the SESI Education and Cultural Division that prompted him to write *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. This book was a development of the doctoral dissertation that he defended at the University of Recife. During his career at SESI, Freire had contact with students and parents within the oppressed communities in Brazil. In his interviews and dialogues, including those with non-Brazilians, Freire recollected experiences from his childhood and adolescence, and from his time at SESI. In his interview with Entrevista, Freire (1992:32) recollects some of these critical incidents:

> My family, from the middle classes, had to leave our house in Recife to live in Jaboatao. There was that magical idea that things could get better only through moving from Recife. However, things got worse. This brought about a fundamental change in my life.

Gastaldo and Figueiredo-Cowen (1992) argue that Freire experienced oppression that women, especially black women, face in his society. In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire (2000) refers to this experience of poverty and hunger that made Freire unravel how hunger was socially constructed. Freire's life in prison and sixteen years of exile never stopped him from writing. He visited many European and African countries, and in *Pedagogy of Hope*, Freire (1994:148-149) reveals how these experiences extended his awareness of oppression and the politics of education in Brazil:

> I remember writing, during the nights in Africa, in Kitwe, in Dares Salaam, a harsh, strong report of my visit. My report transcribed stories I had heard from Africans from the period of preceding the independence of Zambia or Tanzania, and I myself wrote of the cruel marks of colonization and racism.

Freire recalls his life in exile as an academician and an activist; his ideas influenced the progressive social movements in Africa. Freire's childhood experiences of poverty, the pedagogical and political economy of his home country, Brazil, including the time he spent in exile and his dialogues with the marginalised/oppressed communities, played a major role in shaping his writings. In his interview with Macedo in 1985, Freire said that his exile was a long journey of on-going learning:

> What I learned in exile is what I would recommend to all readers of this book: each day be open to the world, be ready to think; each day be ready not accept what is said because it is said, be predisposed to reread what is read; each day investigate, question, and doubt (181).

Freire's life in exile taught him to challenge traditional forms of learning that only allow people to accept what is already said, and he became aware of the need to question and doubt what he learned and experienced with an open mind. Freire (2000) calls these ideas banking and problem-posing education respectively. On the one hand, Freire considers the banking education system that simply allows the students to read, memorise facts and repeat them mechanically and makes them silent recipients of knowledge; it curbs their ability to think or write independently, makes them form relations of dichotomy, alienates them from their existential life. On the other hand, he identifies problem-posing education as its opposite, enabling the students to define their problems and co-construct knowledge with the teacher (see Sections2.1; 2.2). The above critical incidents of Freire inspired me too and I chose Freire's thoughts on banking and problem-posing

education as the central focus of this study to learn from by reflecting on the shared experiences of similarly oppressed people such as mine in Kerala.

While reading about Freire's educational thoughts and his impetus to writing books, I became aware of the common forms of oppression and marginalisation in Brazil and Kerala. Like Freire, my personal and professional engagements with Kudumbashree and community organisations in Kerala influenced my decision to work with the Adivasi community and their engagements in similar organisations in Southern Wayanad[2] in Kerala. Although Freire has been widely criticised for the binary opposition between banking and problem-posing education, he also influenced me to look back to our oppressive and marginal living conditions in Kerala.

Both India and Brazil are considered progressive countries; both are stratified (Roy, 2011; Cao, 2011); both suffered from colonialism (Rothschild, 2012; Peers and Gooptu, 2012), bonded labour, and the slave trade (Richard, 1934; Sanalmohan, 2007); and both are agrarian societies (Sauer and Leite, 2012; Sharma, 2004). Likewise, both countries witnessed banking and problem-posing education. In Brazil, the traditional forms of education alienated people from life; its social structure was still under the influence of slavery and colonialism. The Brazilian government introduced democratic reforms, but the farmers in Brazil had little experience in local democracy (Freire, 2005). Similarly, we had limited involvement in the mainstream Kerala society: the Adivasi community in Kerala have been agricultural slave labourers (Sanalmohan, 2007), just like the farmers in Brazil. As in Brazil, we were rarely involved inparticipatory governance until the formation of three-tiered local self-government bodies in 1995 (Oktem, 2012). These similarities around forms of oppression and marginalisation further inspired me to engage with Freire, develop dialogical methods and learn with the Adivasi community in Southern Wayanad.

There are many differences between Brazil and India in terms of the nature of stratification. Social stratification in Brazil is based on race, colour or class positions of people (Cao, 2011; Fontain, 1985). Unlike Brazil, the system of stratification (Beteille, 1971) in my society is based on the status of one's birth, commonly known as *JatiVyavasta*or the caste system (see Section 2.1.2). Despite our many differences, the Adivasi community and I share common living conditions; because, we both lay outside the formal caste hierarchy and we both are victims of caste oppression and marginalisation; we both are working class, numerically small and educationally marginalised. However, the Adivasi community is the most marginalised in our country (Chandran,

[2]Exact location of the study has been kept confidential due to ethical considerations.

2012), they live in dense forests in hilly areas and they speak their own language along with our native language, Malayalam.

Kerala government has also taken many steps free education; reservation of seats in the field of Education; Employment and Parliamentary Democracyfor the marginalised in Kerala. Furthermore, when studying the Kerala Model of Development, scholars (Oommen, 2008; Oktem, 2012) increasingly claim that Kerala has achieved tremendous growth in poverty eradication, female empowerment and community development with Kudumbashree self-help groups. Nevertheless, those who review the literature (for example, Oommen, 2008; Tharakan, 2006; Chathukulam and John, 2000) on Kerala's development statistics may wonder when listening to my stories of poverty and marginalisation.

The theory of the *Kerala Model of Development* (Tharakan, 2006) demonstrates that the Kerala state has a high literacy rate (93.9% versus 74% for India), a low infant mortality rate (16.5 per 1000 births versus 91 per 1000 for India), a high sex-ratio in favour of women (1084 versus 940 for India), a high life expectancy at birth (74 versus 59 for India), and a low growth rate in population in the last decade (4. 86 % versus 17.64% for India) despite having little industrial and agriculture growth. These statistics are comparable to countries including the UK, the USA and Canada. Oommen argues that it is a rare experience in a society that suffered the worst forms of caste and class oppression in human history. Other scholars (Chandran, 2012; Steur, 2009) consider that these statistics only address the surface reality of development. For example, this debate on Kerala model of development emerged during the 70s, I was born in the middle of this decade, during childhood, I did not have modern toilet facilities for years; nutritious meals were not affordable. I had to travel approximately 40 miles to get emergency treatment. Millions of students like me still do not receive a proper education and live in poor conditions, whatever progress our state has made so far. Linking these critical incidentswith Freire (2000) enables me to identify that the slogan of the Kerala Model of Development is a banking way of looking at reality and further marginalises the already-marginalised life of people like me in Kerala. This initial literature review caused me to explore how non-formal education contributes to oppression and marginalisation while sharing common experiences with the Adivasi community in Wayanad (see Chapters Five-to-Seven).

There is sufficient literature criticising both banking (Rege, 2010; Omvedt, 1971) and problem-posing forms of education, for example, the activity-based curriculum in Kerala (Gautam, 2003, Krishnakumar, 1999; Rampal, 2000; SHREYAS, 2010). Nevertheless, they rarely emphasize oppression or marginalisation at an implicit level; besides, they rarely reflect on Kerala's experiences of education in non-formal platforms, for instance, self-help groups, community-based organisations.

Rege (2010) critiques India's formal education system; but, there is no discussion on how caste is explicitly linked to Freire'sbankingeducation. Similarly, those who research self-help groups (John, 2009; Devika, 2007) and community-based organisations (Sanalmohan, 2007; Ambedkar, 1950) do not examine their roles in reproducing either banking or problem-posing education (see Sections 2.1.1; 2.2.1). So, I am keen to explore oppression, marginalisation and education in formal and informal meetings of the Adivasi community.

1.2 Marginalised communities: development and local governance in Kerala

In general, members of the marginalised community in India today are known as *outcast*, *backward* and Dalits or the *ex-untouchables*. This section first introduces the origin of '*Untouchables'* and the marginal meanings of these terminologies: Ambedkar (1990) argues that the *Untouchables* originated as a later division of caste within the Sudras (see Section 2.1.2.a). Since most of them did cleaning jobs that were considered unhygienic, the issue of purity and pollution become apparent. Consequently, the upper castes call them 'untouchables'. In his speech *Annihilation of Caste*, Ambedkar (2004:1) describes the evil practice of untouchability that existed in his time:

> Under the rule of the Peshwas in the Maratha country, the untouchable was not allowed to use the public streets if a Hindu was coming along, lest he should pollute the Hindu by his shadow.The untouchable was required to have a black thread either on his wrist or around his neck, as a sign or a mark to prevent the Hindus from getting themselves polluted by his touch by mistake. In Poona, the capital of the Peshwa, the untouchable was required to carry, strung from his waist, a broom to sweep away from behind himself the dust he trod on, lest a Hindu walking on the same dust should be polluted.

Similarly, in ancient Kerala, those who were Dalits, including the Adivasi community, were not allowed to drink water from the public wells in the street. They used to drink water from an upper caste as shown in Figure Two.

Figure Two
Untouchability

Source: Singh, A.K (2011) Untouchability: An Indian Life History: New Delhi: DPS Publishing House, Cover page

Clearly, this representation is partial: I offer this image not to represent a group of people but to represent oppression in action. In other words, this is not a representation of people who are oppressed or marginalised but a representation of their oppression and marginalisation in Kerala. Singh (2011) argues that despite increasing concerns over the practice of untouchability and its abolishment through legislation (the Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1976 and the Prevention of Atrocity Act, 1989) untouchability continues to affect the lives of people who are Dalits in India. A recent survey (IHRD, 2014:1) shows that 27% of people admit that they practice untouchability:

Diagram One
Quantifying untouchability today

Source: The Indian Human Development Survey(IHDS2)
In: Chishti,S. (2014) Biggest caste survey: One in four Indians admit to practicing untouchability. *Indian Express*, Saturday, 29 November, 2014, p.n.k. Available from: http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-others/one-in-four-indians-admit-to-practising-untouchability-biggest-caste-survey/[Accessed on 06.02.2014]

Drawing on the above statistics (see Diagram One) published by the Indian Human Development Survey, Chishti reports that people, regardless of caste or religious identities, continue to practice untouchability in India's society 64 years after the implementation of the Untouchability Offences Act (1955). The survey was conducted among 42,000 households across India. Although this is a significant finding on the existence of untouchability, some questions need to be raised: as Chishti (2014:1) reports, two questions were asked during the survey: 'Does anyone in your family practice untouchability?' and 'Would it be okay for a Scheduled Caste person to enter your kitchen or use your utensils?' I wonder why prominent scholars still stick with quantitative methods to explore untouchability, which is a form of oppression constructed by the Indian caste system. Both oppression and development are increasingly quantified without going beyond the surface reality (see Chapter Three). These questions curb people's ability to provide answers beyond 'Yes' or 'No', which Freire (2000) considers a significant feature of learning practices in the banking education. Additionally, these questions rarely let the researcher discover implicit forms of untouchability. For example, Kapikkadu (2007), a leader who belongs to a Dalit community in my village, revealed in an interview:

> In Kerala, if two brothers from a Nair or Christian family get into an argument, the elder brother says (sic) he would give his land to a 'Pulayan'. Since their land lies next to each other, this makes the younger brother scared (sic). So, he thinks that it is better to sell off the property instead of living next to a Pulayan.

For Sunny M Kapikkadu, even though Kerala is a progressive state, untouchability remains. Chapter Six explores how untouchability and unapproachability operate paradoxically in the meetings and events organised for the Adivasi community in Wayanad. The term 'backward' is an official terminology to refer to the marginalised communities in India: the constitution of India (1992), classifies these communities into three broader categories: Scheduled Tribe (ST), Scheduled Caste (SC) and Other Backward Community (OBC). The government uses acronyms such as ST, SC and OBC to refer to these marginalised communities. STs and SCs refer to people who are Adivasies and Dalits. Within the OBCs there are Ezhavas, Viswakarmas, non-Dalits and Muslims. Many researchers (Thorath, 2009; Ravat, 2011) increasingly use terms such as Dalits, Dalit students, Dalit writers and Dalit literature. The term Dalit originated from the Hebrew word 'Dal', which means crushed. These scholars have shown Dalits as people who are socially, economically, culturally and politically marginalised. There are many reports (Karthikeyan, 2012; Human Rights Watch, 1999) to show that people abuse the marginalised by calling them by their caste names. Nevertheless, they still use these terminologies whenever they refer to the marginalised either in texts or in the use of these titles. They do not realise that such terminology

itself is marginal. Appendix Two shows how such terminologies may contribute to oppression and marginalisation in addressing the relationship between language and power. So, I would rather use 'marginalised' for people who are Adivasies or Dalits throughout this text. Besides, I do not use these official terminologies or acronyms other than referencing a source. I use initials to shorten my surname relating to my caste, in the title and reference pages of this thesis.

As evident from the Kerala Panchayatraj Act (1994), the local governing bodies hold a three-tieredsystemGrama (Village) Panchayat, Block Panchayat and District Panchayat. The Grama Panchayat consists of elected and administrative bodies. The elected bodies consist of a President, finance standing committee, welfare standing committee and development standing committee. The President and committee members are elected by the ward members, and ward members are elected every five year period. The administrative staff members and secretary are appointed on a permanent basis by the Kerala Public Service Commission of the State Government. In order to strengthen this local self-government system, Kudumbashree self-help groups are formed in each Grama Panchayat in the state of Kerala in 1995. This local government system was part of our democratic reforms with the enactment of Kerala Panchayatraj Act (1994) from the roots of the 73rd and 74th amendment of the Indian constitution (Oktem, 2012). As evident from Kudumbashree's official website (2015: home page):

> Kudumbashree is formally registered as the 'State Poverty Eradication Mission' (SPEM), a society registered under the Travancore Kochi Literary, Scientific and Charitable Societies Act 1955. It has a governing body chaired by the State Minister of LSG. There is a state mission with a field officer in each district. This official structure supports and facilitates the activities of the community network across the state.

Kudumbashree is a joint initiative of Kerala's State Government and the National Bank for Rural Reconstruction and Development (NABARD). It is also a network that mobilises people to the Gramasabha, the meeting of all eligible voters in each ward in a Panchayat. Furthermore, it plays crucial role in the implementation of development programmes, socio-economic surveys of both state and local governing bodies (Kudumbashree, 2015).

As evident from document of Kudumbashree (2011),CDS is monitored by the welfare standing committee of the Grama Panchayat for any funds allocated by the Government. It has three federated bodies: Neighbourhood Groups at local level; an Area Development Society (ADS) at ward level; and a Community Development Society (CDS) at the Panchayat level. The members of all the three tiers should follow the guidelines of the CDS, Central, State and Local Governments. A CDS consists of a Chairperson, vice-chairperson and executive members from the ADS. Similarly,

one ADS consists of a Chairperson, vice-chairperson, secretary and executive members from the NHG. One NHG consists of a president, a secretary and members from 10-15 poorer families who are selected based on nine risk factors. Arun*et al.* (2011:173) write:

> These households score at least four out of the nine risk factors identified as critical determinants of different forms of poverty, based on minimum needs. These are: ownership of land, adequate shelter, drinking water, number of meals per day, household headship, literacy, alcohol addiction earnings and social grouping (Scheduled Tribe or Caste i.e., Dalit groups that have been constitutionally defined as socially and economically disadvantaged).

The leaders of the CDS, ADS and NHGs are elected by the members every three year. The members of the NHG meet every week; members of the ADS and CDS meet every month. Representatives of the NHG bring the meeting minutes to the ADS, then the ADS meeting minutes are produced in the CDS. Similarly, discussions of CDS meetings are transferred back to next ADS and then to NHG meetings. Scholars (Arun*et al;*2011; Kavitha*et al.,* 2011; John, 2009; Anand, 2004) consider this SHG as a platform, which enables women to achieve economic independence and self-esteem. Kudumbashree is not merely a platform for female empowerment, but also for the welfare of their entire family and village. These reforms changed my life: I would not be writing this thesis in the UK without them.

On the one hand, people like me emerge from our immediate experiences of oppression owing to Kerala's poverty alleviation and develop programmes; on the other hand, we have yet to completely come out of our marginalisation. Dialogical observation of many events, and present narratives of participants, and my narratives confirm this; these played a significant role in refining my original focus of investigation. Those who research Kudumbashree evaluate its success based on numbers and figures rather than exploring issues beyond the surface level. So, the development models of local governing bodies, Kudumbashree and religious-charity organisations, and their meetings are critically explored beyond the false binary between oppression and liberation and between banking and problem-posing models (see Chapters Four-to-Seven).

Similarly, I engaged with literature (Sanalmohan, 2007; Krishnan, 2012; Gopalakrishan, 2012; Omvedt, 1971) on community organisations in Kerala such as Sadhujana Paripalana Sangham (SJPS) and Srinarayana Darma Paripalana Sangh (SNDP). These organisations are well known as social movements of the early 20th century to fight caste oppression and marginalisation in Kerala. These movements had been led by people from the marginalised communities, for example,

Ayyankali, Palpu and Srinarayana Guru. Most of these organisations are still active in modern days following in the footsteps of these great leaders. Just like Kudumbashree, they too are now registered organisations under the Charitable Society Act, 1955. Therefore, Kudumbashree and community-based organisations are technically considered to be self-help groups or social movements. However, the former is a government initiated support mechanism for the local governments in Kerala, and the latter is a non-state voluntary social movement for each marginalised caste in Kerala: they do not receive any fund from the Government.

The above scholars discuss the educational role of these organisations for developing critical consciousness about caste practices and marginalisation in Kerala (see Section 2.2.1). However, I had a different experience of learning from my family and community organisation. I had discussions with my family members and grandparents revolving around the educational and economic marginalisation of my community. Our discussions rarely went beyond to seriously understanding the way we had been stratified by the caste system. For example, every time I remembered my experience of leaving my college I told myself: 'I had to stop my studies because my father was ill; he or my family members did not have any savings to support me; they did not have any extra income.' However, I never thought of why my father did not have any savings or why my family was not as rich as my schoolmates' families. Those discussions mostly reflected on the way we were oppressed or marginalised in the past; we never came to understand the way these forms of oppression still operate in modern Kerala society. Similarly, I learned from my father that there was no such discussion in the monthly meetings of our community organisation, Tamil Viswakarma Samajam. It only discussed monthly dividends, temple maintenance and annual temple festivals in order to please our family deity and protect people from chronic diseases. Most scholars do not emphasize how these organisations themselves contribute to oppression within them in their relationships with non-formal education. Neither do they talk about Freire's (2000) ideas. So, the above critical incidents enabled me to identify the way community-based organisations legitimise the ideology of caste system and maintain Brahminical values (see Chapter Six). Originally, I selected one Adivasi community organisation and one Kudumbashree neighbourhood group in Southern Wayanad. Chapter Four explains how this focus of investigation is negotiated in dialogue with both formal and informal participants. In the light of the above arguments my original sub-aims were:

- To draw on Freire to develop a dialogical methodology for researching with and learning from the Adivasi community in Kerala.
- To engage with dialogical methods to explore the experience of marginalisation and education of the Adivasicommunity in one Kudumbashree neighbourhood group (NHG) and one Adivasi community organisation in Edakal Panchayat in Kerala.
- To analyse the findings of this research to offer insights into the realities of marginalisation and the possibilities for dialogical education in Kerala.
- To develop a critical basis for thinking on marginalisation and education drawing on the study's critique of policies and perspectives about marginalisation and its empirical findings.
- To explore the extent to which Freire's educational thoughts contribute to the understanding of marginalisation and education in Kerala (see revised sub-aims, Page 27).

1.3 Dialogical methodology: revisiting the original focus and sub-aims

Freire (2000) recommends problem-posing education outside of schools because it incorporates non-formal learning methods. Unlike banking education, there is no formal curriculum or syllabus in problem-posing education. On the contrary, the teacher designs the programme content in negotiation with the students. Many scholars have shown us that dialogical forms of learning in formal education was a failure in Kerala, but the students enjoy that in non-formal education centres (see Section 2.2.1.a). These points taught me that problem-posing models could be more effective in research than formal education platforms. So, I draw on Freire to develop a dialogical methodology. My research needs to be distinctive for researching marginalisation in Kerala by forming a critical dialogue with Freire. Chapters Two and Three show how these ideas could be critically applied into research.

As Freire (1998 a) shows us, education is unfinished and provisional; it is the awareness of this unfinished condition that makes people educate (see Section 2.2.4). Similarly, writing is provisional, continuous and negotiable. Writing is not the single act of the writing itself, but, is the presentation of my own organised way of thinking, which helps me to get to know the object deeper. I keep re-writing this thesis to refine my original thinking as I read and experience new things. Consequently, it took time to incorporate my critical incidents and recognise how they are significant in this writing up of thesis as dialogue.

Some people, including Facundo (1984), raise concerns regarding the application of Freire's problem-posing education in working with people across the world. Freire (1985) responds to these claims: people must have some experience of oppression to work with the oppressed/marginalised; scholars shall not use someone's knowledge as an exclusive tool of

research because it may not work with every empirical context; consequently, researchers must refine established knowledge with their own theory and method. I incorporated my experiences/critical incidents to engage with Freire, which informed me to develop my own dialogical methodology for researching oppression and marginalisation (see Chapters Two and Three). I was then concerned about the way I should use Freire's problem-posing education and write about my critical incidents.

Although I presented my agreements and disagreements with scholars in my first draft, I never criticized their writing style. Instead, I adopted their style as a model that I thought would better suit my PhD. I disclosed many experiences during my supervisory meeting. My supervisors asked me whether these were in my text, which, of course, they were not. They told me, 'you write as an outsider when you write your experiences of marginalisation. We rarely find 'I' in your writing. You could better teach us your own story of marginalisation (11.06. 2012).' These comments taught me to position myself in this research in further dialogues with Carteret (2008), Drake (2010), and Clough and Nutbrown (2003). Carteret (2008:247) narrates her own experience of doing her PhD.

> 'Where are you in all this?' My first reaction to her question was shock: whatever did she mean? Wasn't it obvious? Thoughts of the research filled my days and nights, I talked, I worried, I read and I played with ideas.

She initially followed the so-called authoritative style of writing until her supervisor criticised it. She then adopted a storytelling style of writing in order to reflect on her past memories: it helped her to personalise the text rather than being an outsider. She then listened to participants' stories and memories and kept refining her writing. Similarly, Pat Drake (2010) shifted her style of writing from 'third person singular' to 'first person singular' while analysing narratives. Likewise, Peter Clough and Cathy Nutbrown (2003) argue that the voice/identity of the researcher acts as a blueprint for his/her own methodology. It enables them to explore what topic they need to choose, with whom they research and how they approach the participants. These approaches inspired me to rethink my approach to working with the participants being both a research subject and object simultaneously (see Section 4.1). During the course of my MPhil fieldwork (Syamprasad, 2008), the participants told me many stories. I said to myself, 'this appears quite similar to me. I had exactly the same thing. Why should I write them in the thesis? I am not writing an autobiography.'

The participants' stories made me say, 'I'm not writing about my experiences', I then wrote about my experiences, some of them are 'critical incidents' (Tripp, 2012). I started writing using first

person singular. My experiences/critical incidents taught me to revisit each theoretical concept of Freire. Also, I tried to look at how Freire's ideas are related to my experiences of oppression and marginalisation. This is why I reflect on such critical incidents in my dialogue with the literature as well as with the participants. I kept rewinding my memory of my school days: experience of being in the Kudumbashree family and working with its members; interaction with my friends, family and work colleagues in my village, Ettumanoor. These incidents helped me to position myself as an insider, form dialogue with Freire, related scholars and the participants.

Many scholars (Black-Hawkins, 2010; Bergold and Thomas, 2012; Collins, 2011; Kiernan, 1999; Nind, 2011; Reason, 1994), including those who adopt participatory methods, ignore the behaviour and the experiences of the researcher, while using these methods. Moreover, they evaluate the narratives of the participants with existing theories but they rarely share their own stories with the participants. This is not a dialogical approach to research as the participants simply co-construct knowledge about their lives with the researcher and rarely have an opportunity to learn the life of the researcher. In order to minimise theselimitations, I developed a dialogical methodology differently from participatorymethodology. Dialogical methodology helped me to evaluate the behaviour of the participants and mine; share common experiences of marginalisation (my own as well as those of similarly marginalised peers in Kerala, which are drawn from the literature) with the participants through dialogical interviews; to pose the theories from the literature for the participants to reflect on during follow-up dialogues and meetings. This is a way to refine, extend and co-construct knowledge in a dialogical way (see Chapters Three; Four).

Freire's (2000) idea of problem-posing education kept inspiring me to revisit this study's initial focus and sub-aims during the course of my fieldwork. I learned from Freire that negotiation is the essential feature of the problem-posing approach. Nevertheless, the process of applying Freire's problem-posing model was complex. The participants were silent on making any explicit recommendations, for example, to re-schedule the fieldwork (see Table Thirty-five, p318). Their attendance was negligible after the initial meeting. The participants' experience of attending meetings with banking natures caused them to marginalise my initial meetings too. Drawing on my struggle in applying Freire's educational thoughts to conducting my fieldwork, I explore the unavoidable elements of oppression in fieldwork participation in Chapter Four.

Ultimately, I obtained participants' proposals implicitly through informal dialogues: initially, I planned to observe one meeting of the Kudumbashree NHG and Adivasi community organisation;

on top of this, I observed meetings of the other tiers as well (ADS and CDS). This is because the members kept reminding me of all meetings and events throughout my fieldwork, and they invited me to these events formally or informally. Again, the participants informally volunteered to take on different tasks in meetings and to evaluate my fieldwork dialogically. Although I planned to find participants from a cross-section of the Adivasi population, only members of the Kuruma community turned up for the initial meetings. Other Adivasi community members become informal participants in this study, as I had an opportunity to form dialogue with them in their formal and informal meetings.

Participants informed me that the 'Kuruma Samajam' only organise meetings annually. Consequently, I had to change my focus into the annual meeting of the Tribal Co-operative Society for honey gatherers (see Figure Ten, p232). Moreover, the participants kept informing me about all major events that took place whilst my fieldwork was progressing: the social solidarity day, facilitated by Kerala State Scheduled Caste/Schedules Tribe department (see Appendix Seven); the Tribal Cultural Festival organised by the Anthropological Survey of India (see Appendix Eight); an inaugural ceremony of a watershed project, organised by NIRMMITHI[3]; a medical camp, organised by Vivekananda Mission. These proposals facilitated me to form dialogues with informal participants across many Panchayats in the Southern Wayanad although the formal participants come from Edakkal[4] Panchayat. In other words, the area of fieldwork was extended across Southern Wayanad. In accordance with these proposals, I revisedmy initial title (see Appendix Four), focus of investigation and my sub-aims (see Page 23):

[3]Pseudonym is given due to confidentiality considerations

[4] Exact name of the Panchayat has been kept confidential due to ethical considerations.

1. To draw on Freire to develop a dialogical methodology and then revisit my intended methods in an ongoing dialogues with the Adivasi community in Southern Wayanad (Chapter Three) by providing a research-education parallel.
2. To present a reflective accounts of my fieldwork struggle and dialogues to minimise the unavoidable elements of oppression and marginalisation in fieldwork participation while addressing the relevance of dialogical methodology and the complexities of applying Freire's educational thoughts into research (Chapter Four).

3. To engage with dialogical methods to explore the extent to which the meetings of the Adivasi community in Southern Wayanad provide a parallel to education and their contributions to oppression and marginalisation beyond false binaries (Chapters Five and Six).

4. To explore the extent to which the Adivasi community's formal and informal meetings and their shared narratives in this study's field meetings together talk back to Freire's models of education and oppression (Chapters Five and Six).

5. To discover the inter play between banking and problem-posing models in Education, Research and Community work at theoretical, methodological and empirical levels; and present how these findings can be generalised to the rest of the world (Chapters Four-to- Seven)

1.4 Outline of the thesis

Chapter Two presents a detailed account of Freire's (1978; 1985; 1994; 1998; 2000; 2005) theoretical concepts. Section 2.1.1introduces banking education in connection with India's formal education system (Rege, 2010; Rao, 2011), Kerala's decentralised planning (John, 2009; Nidheesh, 2009) and educational reforms (SCERT, 2007). The section then moves on to Freire's notion of the teacher/student dichotomy in connection with my classroom experiences. It further discusses how relations of domination operate in local governing bodies (Kadiyala, 2004; Devika and Thampi, 2007) and Kudumbashree SHGs and community-based organisations (Sanalmohan, 2007; Omvedt, 1971; Gopalakrishnan, 2012; Krishnan, 2012) in Kerala. All these sections discuss that these scholars fail to explore the relation between education and self-help groups. Section 2.1.2 introduces the Indian caste system (Ambedkar, 2004) with respect to banking education: the section particularly addresses the limitations of Freire's ideas in exploring caste oppression and marginalisation in connection with myths, narration sickness, divisive tactics and dual consciousness.

Section 2.2 goes on to describe the different features of problem-posing: first, this section presents the role of communication and dialogue (Bartlett, 2005) by reflecting on some literature on community-based organisations (Yohannan, 1996 in Sanalmohan, 2006; Ambedkar, 1916; 1979) in Section 2.2.1. Sections 2.2.1and 2.2.1.b together draw on some empirical literature on Kerala's experiences of problem-posing education (SCERT, 2007; Swamy, 2010; 2011; Gautam, 2003) to explore the tension between problem-posing education theory and practice (Facundo, 1984; Mackie; 1997; Giroux; 1985). Section 2.2.2 discusses Freire's (2000; 1998 a) notion of praxis and mutuality (hooks, 1994) and its implications to my research. Section 2.2.3explains the possibilities of innovation and the openness in problem-posing models (Freire, 1998 a) to reflect on the formal procedures of SHGs in Kerala (Minimol and Makesh, 2012). Section2.2.4 addresses the notion of conscientization and unfinished knowledge (Freire, 1998 a) in connection with critical incidents and literature on formaland non-formal education in Kerala (Swamy, 2010;2011; SHREYAS, 2010; Varanasi Ashram Trust, 2015).

Chapter Two finally critiques Freire's insights of education and oppression beyond the false binaries. Section2.3.1 explains the possibilities of revisiting the oppressor/oppressed dichotomy, drawing on empirical literature (Government of Kerala, 2008; Staff reporter, 2008) and narratives. Section 2.3.2 critiques Freire's notion of imitation in connection with the efforts of the oppressed to refine the dominant myths and the caste system in Kerala (Srinivas, 1952; Hanumandev, 1916; Béteille, 1995). Section 2.3.3 critiques Freire's notion of the culture of silence and dialogue drawing on my classroom experiences and empirical literature (Bartlett, 2005; Kohl, 1994; Kincheloe, 2005; Jaworski and Sachdev, 1998). Each sub-section of Chapter Two presents my experience of oppression and marginalisation to critique the literature and inform issues for empirical enquiry. In other words, each section poses my original questions for empirical investigation, followed by the actual questions based on participants' proposals. It is a dialogical way of writing, to discuss what made me revisit my original questions. The end of each section discusses how Freire's educational thoughts inform my dialogical methodology.

Chapter Three develops a dialogical methodology for researching oppression and marginalisation in the discipline of Education while addressing how dialogical methodology is different from participatory methodology (Nind, 2011; Gurukkal, 2008; Kiernan, 1999; Reason, 1994; Black-Hawkins, 2010). Additionally, the chapter presents both the philosophical and empirical aspects of my data collection and data analysis. Section 3.1 explores how the sample andfocus of investigation were revised in constant dialogues with the participants.Sections 3.2 and 3.3togetherexamine what a dialogical approach to observation and interviews would look like.

Section 3.4 presents the methods of transcription and my struggle of transcribing narratives dialogically. Section 3.5 exploresthematicdata analysisas a way of forming dialogue and praxis with the participants; it then goes on to justify mixed method approach for minimising the errors of a single method, cross-checking and comparing data and then identifying common themes in dialogue with one another.

Chapters Four, Five and Six are a 'learning walk' through empirical findings (Hall and Burke, 2003), drawing on the theoretical insights illuminated in Chapters Two and Three. All chapters present the shared knowledge and experiences of participants alongside my own narratives. Chapter Four presents a reflective account of my fieldwork engagements to minimise the unavoidable elements of oppression and marginalisation in fieldwork participation along with its ethical stance; and the complexities of applying Freire's educational thoughts into research.

In general, Chapters Five and Six together explore both formal and informal meetings in their relation between education and oppression and marginalisation beyond false binaries: Section 5.1 explores how Freire's idea of education provide a parallel to meetings and community work as a general introduction to both chapters Five and Six. Section5.2 explores how meetings provide a banking model and how members marginalise banking models to address meetings as oppression and its contributions to patronisation and empathy. Section5.3 discusses how does the oppressor divide themselves and imitate their oppressor colleagues in connection with the increased growth of SHGs in Kerala and its contributions to oppression and liberation. Section5.4 elucidates how people marginalise themselves and problem-posing models to revisit Freire's banking education and the oppressor/oppressed relationships.Section5.5 discusses how the formal environment marginalises people, and how people marginalise the formal beyond the binary between silence and dialogue.

Chapter Six extends these experiences to identify the contemporary functions of caste to refine Freire's notion of myth and banking education beyond false binaries. Section6.1explores how the Adivasi community refines established myths regarding caste invasion and slavery. Section 6.2 critically explores the meetings and events organised by community organisations in relation to participatory development and caste invasion. Section 6.3 presents how meetings contribute to untouchability and caste oppression in new forms, and how leaders reflect them to address relation between communication and myth.

Chapter Seven draws my findings on the interplay between banking and problem posing models in Education, Research and Community work revisiting Freire. These findings are explained in three

different levels: theoretical, methodological and empirical. Overall, the chapter discusses how the participants' narratives and my own talk back to Freire's notions of banking and problem-posing education beyond false binaries. Section7.1 presents the theoretical findings: there is interplay between both banking and problem-posing models. Section 7.2 details my methodological findings: development of dialogical methodology; the parallelbetween research and education. Section 7.3 illustrates my empirical findings: first, meetings as education and oppression; second, caste continues to oppress and marginalise people while executing both oppression and *liberation* simultaneously.Section 7.4 presents how these findings can be generalised outside Kerala Society, India. Section 7.5 concludes with my unfinished dialogues to provide possibilities for future research; and Section 7.6 presents a provisional conclusion to this on-going research-education journey.

CHAPTER TWO
UNDERSTANDING OPPRESSION, MARGINALISATION AND EDUCATION IN KERALA: LIMITATIONS OF THE LITERATURE

In this chapter, I dialogue with Freire (1978; 1985; 1994; 1998a; 1998b; 2000; 2005) and his educational thoughts by reflecting on empirical literature on marginalisation in Kerala along with my experiences/critical incidents. Each subsection identifies the limitations of the literature in order to highlight the emerging issues for empirical investigation and address the significance of my research. First, I detail the main features of banking and problem-posing education in Sections 2.1 and 2.2; In Section 2.3, I elaborate on the false binary between banking and problem-posing education, between oppressor and the oppressed, and between teacher and students. Finally, in Section 2.4, I present my overall learning experiences from the literature.

2.1 BANKING APPROACH TO EDUCATION

The section critiques the different features of banking education to explore how it oppresses and marginalises people such as me in Kerala. Section 2.1.1 discusses the teacher-student dichotomy and relationships of domination in school. In addition, this section discusses how these conditions influence the engagement of the marginalised castes in local governance in Kerala. Section 2.1.2 discusses the relationship between banking education and the caste system: first, how the caste system produces myths to justify the unjust actions of the dominant community second, how these myths operate in society and form narration sickness ; third, how the divisive tactics of banking education form a dual consciousness amongst the marginalised in Kerala. This section outlines the engagement of the Adivasi community in their own organisations and many self-help groups in Kerala. In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire (2000:54) writes of the patronising aspects of banking education and conditions of oppression in Brazil:

> Pedagogy which begins with the egoistic interests of the oppressors (an egoism cloaked in the false generosity of paternalism) and makes of the oppressed the objects of its humanitarianism, itself maintains and embodies oppression. It is an instrument of dehumanization.

Freire (2000) explores oppression based on two classes – the oppressor and the oppressed – that exist in society and in schools. The oppressor uses banking education to deposit their knowledge, propagate their ideology (Freire, 1998b), and maintain the status quo. Similarly, in schools, the teacher repeats knowledge that s/he has read so far, and students memorise and repeat that knowledge. Consequently, the students are less likely to understand the knowledge critically. My engagement with Freire's banking education reminds me of similar forms of learning in my 10th standard classroom in 1991:

> The teacher delivered the content exactly as written in textbooks. She taught us many historic events like the world wars, the Jalianwalabag massacre and the Chaurichaura incident. I then had to learn them by heart for the next day. The teacher would ask me when these events occurred or s/he gave some choices for me to answer yes or no.

In History class, the teacher described the stories of wars and protests, concentrating only on facts and figures in particular those around India's freedom struggles against the British East India Company. History text books simply presented information on, for example, how many freedom fighters were shot dead in Jalianwalabag (1919), how the victims executed counter attacks in the Chauirchaura police station (1922), who led the struggles and when the events occurred. In the examination, I had to write short essays reflecting on the cause, course and consequences of these major events of the past, including World Wars One and Two. Questions rarely examined the extent to which the aforementioned massacres or protests shaped lives in contemporary Kerala society. I had to answer many multiple choice questions but I could not provide any answer beyond 'Yes' or 'No'; I learned from Freire that this is a banking way of asking questions. My communication with teachers did not give me much opportunity to critically analyse the above incidents. Considering similar learning practices in Brazil, Freire argues that the teacher answers his/her own questions, which rarely have a bearing on the students' experience of life outside of the classroom. Scholars including Rege (2010) and Rao (2011) explore how marginalised students in India experience oppression and marginalisation in school regarding banking forms of learning practices.

Rege (2010) and Rao (2011) argue that the marginalised people had very little representation in the administrative bodies of educational institutions in India. Hence, the upper caste community had a crucial role in the curriculum formation and admission of students. Drawing on Freire (2000), Rao (2011) argues that the current education system in India is yet to encourage dialogical learning; the education providers equate intelligence with students' ability to speak fluently, understand jargon or clarify the subject matter taught in the name of standardisation. As a result, the students who belong to the urban/upper-caste community tend to score more highly than the marginalised community. The students who are marginalised face unjust failures, lower results and ill treatment by teachers. The curriculum does not promote creative expression and original thought in students.

Rao (2011) emphasizes the educational disparities within the formal education system. Kerala Government took many measures to improve the welfare of marginalised students during the

1990s. First, the state set up the District Primary Education Programme (DPEP) in 1991 and Sarvasiksha Abhiyan – Education for all – in 2000 (Krishnakumar,1999; Rampal, 2000; see Section 2.2.1.a) as a way of dealing with marginalisation in schools. Second, the Government initiated participatory development programmes and formed Kudumbashree SHGs (see Section 1.2). Nidheesh (2009) argues that these SHGs emphasize the welfare of poorer students through non-formal methods of education. In the same way, John (2009:29) describes the role of Kerala's Kudumbashree Mission (KDMS) in educating marginalised children:

> In order to realize its proclaimed objectives for ensuring a minimum of primary education for all children belonging to risk families, KDMS carries out some activities such as formation of Mother- Teacher Associations and promotion of remedial Education for poor performers. KDMS units have organized Vacation Classes and Career Guidance programme (sic).

The above pieces of literature present contrasting findings on the educational experience of marginalised students in Kerala: On the one hand, Rege and Rao critique inequality and domination within the formal education system in India as a whole. On the other hand, Nidheesh and John particularly discuss how both formal and non-formal educational projects in Kerala enable marginalised women and children to deal with these forms of inequality and marginalisation. These findings play a critical role in analysing oppression and liberation beyond false binaries (see Section 5.3). Nonetheless, major shortcomings of these findings need to be critically addressed.

Although Rege (2010) and Rao (2011) identify banking education in schools, they rarely discuss how it operates outside schools. Moreover, they ignore the implicit forms of oppression and marginalisation with regard to their discussion on caste. Besides, they do not explore the different ways in which banking education contributes to oppression and marginalisation. For example, they argue that the education system is biased in favour of the upper caste community, and that marginalisation in school is part of the structural inequalities created by the caste system. Nonetheless, they do not explicitly address the relation between caste system and banking education.

In contrast, John (2009) and Nidheesh (2009) argue that students receive an alternative education organised by the Kudumbashree SHG in Kerala; but they fail to address how the members might experience oppression and marginalisation within the SHGs. Since the relationship between education and self-help group meetings is yet to be established in this literature, I explore these issues and their contribution to oppression, marginalisation and education in the formal and

informal meetings in Southern Wayanad (see Chapters Five and Six). In addition to the above limitations, the interwoven networks of race, ethnicity and gender are missing in Freire's understanding of oppression.

As Freire (2000) shows us, both schools and families are agents of oppression: the teacher-student relationship or the parent-child relationship is similar to the relationship between the oppressor and the oppressed. Freire emphasizes that these relationships are based on the class-identities of people without considering their caste, race, gender or ethnic identities. Freire mainly worked with farmers in Brazil, and issues of gender and race seem to be marginalised in his work. For example, the Austrian historian Gerda Lerner (1997:133) writes: 'If one ignores 'differences' one distorts reality. If one ignores the power relation built on differences one reinforces them in the interest of those holding power.' Lerner argues that people are different in terms of religion, race, ethnicity and class, so scholars ignoring such differences themselves maintain the oppressor's interests. In my opinion, Freire does not overlook the limitations of his own class analysis of oppression.

Ambedkar (2004) also rejects class analysis for understanding caste oppression in the empirical context of India (see Section 2.12.a). Additionally, many scholars including hooks critique Freire for using sexist languages in his works including *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. However, as hooks (1994:49) writes in *Teaching to Transgress*:

> Freire's sexism is indicated by the language in his early works notwithstanding that there is so much that remains liberatory. There is no need to apologise for the sexism. Freire's own model of critical pedagogy invites a critical interrogation of this flaw in his work.

Nevertheless, Freire was instrumental for hooks to explore the politics of domination, racism and sexism as well as class exploitation in the United States. hooks reminds us of the need to critique Freire for being a misogynist and ignoring the racial and gender-based networks of oppression but not to abandon his work completely. Both hooks and Lerner are influential in critiquing Freire for his exclusive emphasis on class as well as for exploring the conditions of marginalisation in Kerala. hooks and Lerner inspire me to consider the gender- and caste-based identities of the Kudumbashree neighbourhood members in connection with their experiences of oppression or marginalisation, in contrast to Freire. For example, all members in the neighbourhood group are women. In addition, they are Adivasies and belong to different marginalised castes in Kerala. Each Adivasi community is further divided into different groups outside of the formal caste hierarchy. The majority of them are involved in agriculture or farming (Government of India, 2001). Section

2.2.2 discusses to what extent women who are Dalits are more oppressed than women in general. Freire is inadequate in exploring these differences in relation to oppression and marginalisation. Originally, my plan was to investigate these differences regarding the communication between the leader and members in SHGs in general. This is later refined in response to participants' stories (see Chapter Four); and I explore how the participants made meetings banking as a way of addressing the false binary between patronisation and empathy in Section5.2.

These insights enable me to consider my research in parallel with education. As I am also trained within the banking methods, I must be aware of my own limitations to investigate the aforementioned forms of marginalisation. Research may become banking, just as teachers ask questions of students in the classroom. Consequently, Chapter Three discusses how different identities of the researcher and participants stop themselves from forming dialogue with each other. Chapter Four refines the following issues: How did I deal with these differences? How did my methods of finding participants contribute to or deal with oppression and marginalisation?

2.1.1 Teacher-student dichotomy and domination

Freire (2000) emphasizes that there are no egalitarian relationships between the teacher and the students in school: the teacher is the absolute authority of knowledge, chooses the programme contents and enforces his/her choices; the students are mere recipients of their teacher's knowledge or choices. The teacher teaches, thinks, talks and disciplines the students; the students are subjects of these practices and discipline. Freire draws on this oppressive nature of banking education classrooms in order to discuss the teacher-student dichotomy and domination in parallel with the oppressor-oppressed dichotomy in society. The aim of banking education is to maintain this dichotomy. It is evident from the way the teacher considers him/herself as an expert and his/her students as ignorant in classrooms. Moreover, banking education submerges people into a world in which critical consciousness is impossible, rather than making them aware of these relations of domination. Freire calls this world of domination a culture of silence, as discussed in Section 2.3.3. In short, a banking educator marginalises the students by projecting ignorance onto them. Additionally, Freire (2000) emphasizes, the teachers simply answer their own questions while selecting the topics on their own. My experience as a pupil was not an exception to the banking forms of learning practices that Freire identifies in Brazil.

I remember the following episode from my school days: The teacher asked me 'When did World War I start?' I answered, '1915.' The teacher said, 'No, it is 1914, write down the correct answer 50 times for tomorrow.' My History teacher used to ask me many similar questions but I always struggled to remember the dates of the World Wars. Did it really matter whether it was 1914 or 1915? To the best of my knowledge, no one from Kerala was involved in it, so why should the date be of interest to me? Although Freire is influential to understand these marginalising learning processes in connection with domination, he does not articulate how the teacher/student dichotomy operates if the teacher belongs to the oppressed and the students belong to the oppressor community. Section 2.3.1 further discusses these issues beyond the false binary between the oppressor and the oppressed to refine Freire. Scholars including bel hooks (1994) have addressed the teacher-student dichotomy and domination in classrooms. bel hooks (1994:5) writes of her experience of banking education in the American context:

> The vast majority of our professors lacked basic communication skills, they were not self-actualised, and they often used classroom to enact rituals of control that were about domination and unjust exercise of power. In these settings I learned a lot about the kind of teacher I did not want to become.

hooks (1994) argues that learning must take place in classrooms under pleasure, fun or excitement as subjects of critical discussion. Additionally, teachers should share their desire to encourage as a way to transgress. Teaching practices must go beyond the accepted boundaries; no rigid rules must guide teaching practices. In banking education, learning takes place through an authoritative means of communication, rigid sets of rules and passive acceptance of knowledge. Similarly, Rege (2010:95) writes of how teachers are compelled to threaten students due to school policies in India:

> Discussing pedagogies requires that we discuss the ways in which power is enmeshed in the discourses and practices of the more mundane every day of the classroom. The classroom is relatively autonomous spaces which can both empower the teacher render her vulnerable. The everyday of this classroom is routinely managed through the regime of time-tables, and rules published in the handbooks.

Rege criticises classroom learning practices that encourage the students to be obedient and competitive; otherwise the students are disciplined or threatened. For (Rao, 2011), the students who are Dalits are the major victims. Although, Rege discusses domination in connection with power and discourse she does not refer to Foucault. Appendix Two elaborates on the issues of power in connection with language, discourse and Freire's banking education. In addition to these issues, punishment for students who talked was a typical experience of oppression during my time

at school: this normally happened if a teacher was absent for a single period; the head teacher would then come to instruct us: 'Do not talk at all, do not disturb students in the other classes. Those who talk will be monitored by your class representative and they will be beaten.' hooks,Rege and Rao remind me of those miserable school days. Additionally, Freire (2000) inspires me to understand the extent to which such traditional banking classrooms in India or Kerala formed relationships of domination and dichotomy.

In contrast to Rege and Rao, Devika *et al.* (2011) examine oppression outside of the school, and the fact that mainstream politics and local governance in Kerala have yet to address issues of the marginalised, including Dalits and women. Similarly, Chathukulam and John (2000) discover that, the women elected members face marginalisation on the grounds of caste. They are unable to occupy positions of power unless they receive reservation benefits (a type of affirmative action). For example, the plan document of the Edakkal Panchayat (2013) reveals that men who belong to the non-Adivasi community occupy all general seats in the Panchayat. A hand out from the Kudumbashree CDS (2011) in Edakkal shows us that the post of chairperson is also reserved for an *Adivasi* woman. John (2009) argues that Kudumbashree follows a three-tiered organisational structure as the local governing bodies. As Kadiyala (2004) points out, the NHG/ADS/CDS structure of the Kudumbashree self-help group threatens to turn into a new bureaucracy. There exists conflict between the CDS and ADS and the local governing bodies due to political interests (John, 2009). All of these studies inspired me to learn about certain aspects of oppression and marginalisation in Kerala. However, major drawbacks of these studies need to be addressed in explaining oppression and marginalisation in Kerala with regard to the teacher-student dichotomy and domination.

Issues of domination and authority may create similar conditions of oppression or marginalisation within the neighbourhood groups in Kerala. For example, there might be similar issues between the leader and the members and between the members themselves; it could be the result of banking education outside of the school. However, such critical insights are absent in the above literature. Rege (2010) and Rao (2011) discuss the authority structure and domination in relation to caste and higher education in India. Both scholars emphasize that there is no collaborative learning in the schools. Furthermore, they highlight these issues with respect to relationships between the upper caste and lower caste communities. However, these discussions are inadequate to understand the teacher-student dichotomy: the members in the Adivasi community organisations may form relations of domination with their leader who belongs to the same

community. Similarly, the Kudumbashree neighbourhood groups only accommodate women members. Of course, there might be issues of gender apart from caste. Both the leader and the members have different economic, educational and political statuses that might cause them to form relations of domination with each other.

Similarly, the literature on the Kudumbashree SHGs in Kerala ignores the relationship between the leader and the members. However, literature (Sanalmohan, 2007; Omvedt, 1971; Gopalakrishnan, 2012; Krishnan, 2012) on the community organisations position leaders as revolutionary reformers regarding their efforts to mobilise members against social issues in Kerala (see Sections 2.2.1; 2.3.2). That said, they ignore how forms of domination operate within these organisations. Besides, they have not addressed the relationship between the leader and the member with respect to the teacher-student dichotomy.

As Freire (2005) emphasizes, the lack of democratic experience of the lower-class people in Brazil contributes to a lack of critical consciousness. Similarly, Devika *et al.* (2011) explore how the undemocratic power structure in Kerala limits the opportunity of the marginalised, particularly women, to become leaders or to gain political power. In other words, they explain the explicit dimensions of marginalisation. Nonetheless, they do not see how these forms of domination exist in the Kudumbashree NHGs as in the local governing bodies in Kerala. In response to these findings, I intended to identify the extent to which the leader acts as a banking education teacher and the members as the students, with their contributions to and experiences of oppression, marginalisation and education in Kudumbashree self-help groups and community-based organisations. Additionally, I explored the extent to which differences between leaders such as politicians, community workers and religious reformers contribute to oppression and marginalisation in connection with the increased growth of SHGs in Kerala. Chapter Five provides these findings beyond the binary between the leader-oppressor and the member-oppressed and the binary between liberation and oppression.

Most research findings on Kudumbashree are based on quantitative data leading readers yes/no values. The researchers (Williams *et al.,* 2011; Mohindra, 2003; Minimol and Makesh, 2012; Sivaprakash and Chandrasekhar, 2012) reach such conclusions by assessing the responses of people quantitatively based on statistics as in Table One.

Table One
Kudumbashree in Wayanad and Palakkad

	Wayanad	Palakkad
Total households in engaging in Kudumbashree	5775	4276
Proportion of households in Kudumbashree	55%	43%
Number of NHGs formed	302	284
Savings/member	Rs 3300	Rs 3300
Borrowing/member	Rs 6200	Rs 8600

Source: Williams, G, Thampi, B.V; Narayana, D; Nandigama, S. and Bhattacharyya, D. (2011) Performing Participatory. Citizenship – Politics and Power in Kerala's Kudumbashree Programme. *The Journal of Development Studies*,**47**(8), pp.1261-1280

Table One showsthe number of NHGs formed, the proportion of NHG households and details of members' savings/debts for the Wayanad and Palakkad districts in Kerala. As Gurukkal (2008) emphasizes, those who refer to these statistics rarely go beyond the surface reality of oppression. Chapters Three and Four display how they contribute to the researcher/participants dichotomy and domination in fieldwork. Chapter Four revisits the issues raised in this section while addressing the complexities of Freire's problem-posing approach to form dialogue with the participants.

As Rege (2010) and Rao (2011) emphasize, caste is the crucial factor that creates forms of marginalisation in the formal schooling in India. Caste favours the students who belong to the upper caste community. Similarly, people who belong to the marginalised castes are less evident in the local self-governing bodies unless they receive reservation benefits in Kerala. Understanding caste as a means of oppression and marginalisation is a crucial factor that contrasts this study with Freire's work in Brazil. However, Freire inspires me to explore the relationship between banking education and caste and oppression. Many scholars (for example, Rege, 2010; Rao, 2011; Devika, 2011) do not address the relationship between banking education and caste, the complex nature of stratification and oppression in India and Kerala.

2.1.2 Banking education and the Indian caste system

This section raises three major arguments with regard to banking education and caste. First, the myths of the origin of the caste system and Indian civilization, drawing on Freire's (1985) notion of education as politics; then the notion of narration sickness in relation to caste and its impact on marginalisation; and finally, banking education in its relationship between divisive tactics and dual consciousness. Having engaged with these concepts, this section discusses the nature of social stratification among the marginalised.

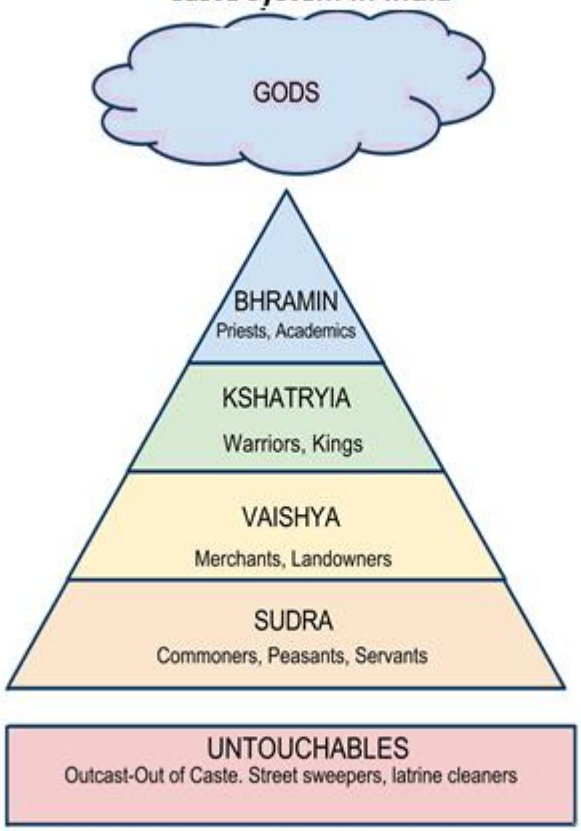
2.1.2.a Myths and the politics of education

Freire (2000:139) writes of 'the myth that oppressive order is a free society; the myth that all persons are free to work where they wish, that if they don't like their boss they can leave him and look for another job.' Freire explains that myth legitimising capitalist social formations does not communicate the unjust conditions of work to the workers, and thus myth distracts the workers' attention away from such oppression. Furthermore, such myths convey that the oppressed are inferior, lazy and dishonest and they must listen to their boss who looks after them when they worry. For Freire, the oppressor uses banking education to mythicize the world. Myths are forms of knowledge, which the oppressor propagates as truth. It may exist in the form of slogans, prescriptions or manipulations; furthermore, it is a monologue as the oppressed are not involved in its production. The oppressor, on the one hand, uses myths in order to justify their own unjust actions and adopt the oppressed into the structure of domination; the oppressed, on the other hand, simply accepts them, following the banking traditions of education.Similarly, Lankasher (1993) argues that banking education marginalises students from a joint search for knowledge.

Freire's(2000) banking education and myths enable me to reflect on how scholars including Sharma (2004); Risley (1908) and Keer (1990) explore myths in relation to the caste system and oppression in India. The English word caste originated from the Portuguese word *casta*, which means 'breed.' The British ethnographer Herbert Risley defines caste as:

> A collection of families to groups of families bearing a common name claiming a common descent from a mythical ancestor, human or divine professing to follow the same hereditary calling and is regarded by those who are competent to give an opinion as forming a single homogeneous community (Sharma, 2004: 14).

Diagram Two
Caste system in India



Touch the untouchables (2013) online blog 10th May
Available from:
http://dharmadialogue.wordpress.com/2013/05/10/touch-the-untouchable-caste/
[Accessed on 26.07.2013]

According to Hindu mythology (Ambedkar, 1950), there are four castes namely the Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras as evident from Diagram Two. As Risley (1908) and Keer (1990) show us: the Brahmins are the priests who originated from the mouth of the Lord Brahma; the Kshatriyas are the warriors who originated from the arms of the Lord; the Vaishyas are the merchants who originated from the thighs of the Lord; and the Sudras are the labourers, who originated from the feet of the Lord. Members of a caste are expected to follow their own traditional occupations based on which body part they originated from.

This caste system imposed on the marginalised castes many restrictions: in Kerala, there was very little occupational mobility, we had limited access to formal education, and our duty was to serve other castes in the caste hierarchy. Consequently, many people, including myself, struggled to seek professional jobs or improve their living conditions.

Ambedkar (1990) and Phule (Omvedt, 1971) argue that the upper caste community in India propagates various forms of myths to justify their actions; the marginalised community must reject all such irrational knowledge (see Section 2.2.1). Similarly, Ambedkar (1990; 2004) argues that according to the principle of Karma, marginalised people are born to suffer as they committed sins in their past life: they are positioned at the bottom of the hierarchy; they must serve the *Brahmins* who occupy the top position and they cannot violate this because it is God who created this stratification. Reflecting on this hierarchy, Ambedkar responds (2004:4) to the defenders of the caste-based division of labour:

> It is a pity that caste even today has its defenders. The defences are many. It is defended on the ground that the caste system is but another name for division of labour and if division of labour is a necessary feature of every civilized society then it is argued that there is nothing wrong in the caste system.

Ambedkar (2004) argues that caste is not a division of labour but a division of labourers because these divisions are not based on people's choices: on the contrary, choices are imposed on to people. For example, a scavenger is born as a scavenger and he will remain so for the rest of his life. For Ambedkar, this occupational immobility shows how slavery is enmeshed within the caste system. Slavery is not always referred to as a legalised form of subjection. The mythical origin of caste legitimises the implicit slave experiences of marginalised communities in this hierarchy. Ambedkar implicitly addresses how choices are imposed on to people in a banking way by the caste system. For Ambedkar, Hindu society itself is a myth. On the other hand, Freire (2000) argues that banking education offers a series of prescriptions to legitimise an oppressive social structure, but he does not explore social structures like caste itself as a myth. Freire mostly discusses forms of knowledge as being imposed on to people on behalf of an oppressive society, and although he discusses divisive tactics as a means for an oppressor to maintain their domination, he does not point out how division of labour is imposed on to the oppressed on behalf of the oppressor.

I learned from Ambedkar that the caste system is not merely legitimised by established myths, it is also defended in accordance with people's rational explanations beyond myths. However, he does not emphasize how these rationalities can be a myth. I explore how contemporary forms of caste oppression and marginalisation are justified or defended in the events in Southern Wayanad in connection with myth beyond the false binary between communication and narration sickness (see Chapter Six). Phule (Omvedt, 1971) argues that established myths are included in the school

syllabus in the form of stories and fairy tales: having been influenced by Brahminical values, schools present Indian history as the Dashavathara of Lord Vishnu.

Figure Three
Dashavathara of Lord Vishnu

Source: drik Panchang(2015:n.k) Available from: http:/drikpanchang.com/dashavatara/vishnu-dashavatara-list.html[Accessed on 07.01.15]

As evident from Figure Three, the Hindu mythology describes Indian History as the Dashavathara (ten incarnations) of Lord Vishnu. It includes the animal forms (namely:Matsya (fish-1st), Kurma (tortoise-2nd), Varaha (boar-3rd), Narasimha (man-lion-4th) and the human forms (Vamana-5th, Parashurama-6th, Rama-7th , Balarama-8th , Krishna-9th and Kalki-10th). In some versions (Rajan, 2013), Balarama is replaced by Budha as the 8th incarnation of Vishnu.This myth proclaims that Lord Vishnu incarnated in ten consecutive cycles, both in human and animal forms of life. The Hindu mythology presents its own version of Indian civilization.

However, Phule (Omvedt, 1971) argues that the Brahmins belong to the Aryan race who invaded India. The Brahmins are all born to kill the Asura Kings on behalf of the Deva Kings. Asura Kings were depicted as demons who were indeed the native rulers of the country. This story represents the invasion of the Aryans over the sea (for example, incarnation in the form of fish, tortoise, boar and so on symbolically represents battle over sea) and the territory (the rest of the incarnations). This is hidden in the Brahmin theory of Indian civilisation.

Keer (1990) argues that the Adivasi community are the original inhabitants of the country; the Brahmins belonged to the descendants of the Aryan race who invaded India even before the Mughal, Arabic or British Empires. Omvedt (1971) argues that this should form part of the curriculum, just like the recent history of British or Mughal colonialism. Freire (1985) raises similar issues regarding the political nature of education: the whole process of education is political; the authoritarian structure of schools decides on the contents of each subject; there is the politics of what to include in and what to leave out of the syllabus.

As discussed above, the principle of Karma illustrates Freire's (1985; 2000) ideas of myths and banking education to a certain extent. However, the Viswakarma community, to which I belong, claim themselves as Viswa Brahmins (Sharma, 1989), as they too were originated from the different faces of the same God Brahma (see Figure Five, p72); they decline the supremacy of Brahmins as priests (Hanumandev, 1916).

Freire (2000) does not discuss the myths produced by the oppressed that could challenge or transform the dominant myths as a way of developing critical consciousness or not.
The above empirical literature mostly discovers caste oppression and invasion in the broader social context in India. However, the literature does not focus on how oppression and invasion occur at the local level, invading the existential life of the marginalised communities. Moreover, the above authors mostly focus on established myths rather than its contemporary forms justifying local forms of caste invasion. The literature on community organisations has addressed how these myths affect the behaviour of the marginalised. Nonetheless, those who research (Mohindra, 2003; Devika and Thampi, 2007; John, 2009; Williams *et al.,* 2011; Minimol and Makesh, 2012; Sivaprakash and Chandrasekhar, 2012) the Kudumbashree SHGs in Kerala have not taken for granted the following concerns: How do similar myths contribute to marginalisation in its contemporary forms? How do the Adivasi community respond to these myths and form consciousness? Chapter Six refines these questions while responding to participants' critical roles

in reviewing the myth of Dashavathara their informal proposals and implicit forms of caste invasion and marginalisation in their informal meetings and events (see Chapter Six).

Freire (1985; 2000) reminds me of the consequences that might be formed in this research. The researcher may impose his/her own knowledge, which could be mythical, in forming dialogue with people. In addition, s/he may not reflect on people's experiences of marginalisation. Similarly, s/he may overemphasize his/her own research questions for the participant to answer. Research may also be political with regard to focus of empirical enquiry and the process of finding participants (see Chapter Three). In a nutshell, banking education mythicizes reality. The teacher deposits knowledge, which does not address the experiences of students outside of the school. This is why Freire (2000) said banking education suffers from narration sickness.

2.1.2.b Narration sickness

Freire (2000) claims that the banking educators do not communicate with students' experiences; he defines narration sickness to examine this form of banking education: 'The contents whether values or empirical dimensions of reality, tend in the process of being narrated to become lifeless and petrified (69)'. Freire criticizes banking educators who repeat words of the oppressor that appear to be *true* although they are false. Instead of communicating true words, banking educators narrate their own false or mythical forms of knowledge, which are not related to the students' lives. The teacher chooses the programme contents that s/he thinks important and then narrates to the students. This is a dehumanizing approach to education that impedes the students' potential to be aware of their oppression and makes them passive. As long as the teacher narrates his/her own knowledge, the students do not develop a critical consciousness about their oppression and marginalisation. A banking educator not merely deposits the content of textbooks but also imposes his/her own interpretation of the text.

Freire's (1985; 2000) ideas have enabled me to understand how members of the upper caste community produce knowledge in order to justify their own actions. Although Freire does not study the caste system in India, he is influential to understand the caste-based narration of knowledge and marginalisation in Kerala. In the light of the above passage, it is important to explore how victims perceive their marginalisation in relation to narration sickness and caste in Kerala. For example, whenever I faced challenges, my family members insisted that I seek advice from an astrologer. The astrologer told me, 'The God is angry with you and you must make him some offerings. Do not forget to offer some Dakshina (payment) to the priest. Otherwise, he will

not accept your offerings.' These are caste-based narrations, which do not actually represent my experience of marginalisation.

Many scholars have explored marginalisation regarding caste and reproduction of established norms: drawing on Phule, Rege (2010) emphasized that Indian civilization represents Brahminical ideas. However, she has not focussed on how myths contribute to narration sickness. Similarly, Phule (Omvedt, 1971) only says that Brahminical knowledge has become a subject for study. Neither Rege (2010) nor Omvedt have addressed how the teacher presents his/her own views in school, which may reinforce such Brahminical narrations of knowledge. As seen above, the astrologer makes his own narrations on worshipping God. Although such narrations may not explicitly be linked to any established norms, they might legitimise the dominance of the Brahmins. Similarly, a leader following banking methods of communication could do the same, which may reinforce alienation. However, the relationship between marginalisation and narration sickness and reproduction of such practices is yet to be established in the above pieces of literature. How do the leader and the members present or respond to their experiences of marginalisation in the neighbourhood and Adivasi community organisation? How do the members deal with such narrations as a way of understanding marginalisation and developing critical consciousness? Chapters Three and Four explain why I avoid or amend these questions; in response to these questions, I explore the contemporary forms of myths to address the false binary between narration sickness and communication in events (see Chapter Six).

As implicit from Freire (2000), research may also contribute to narration sickness. The researcher may describe his/her own knowledge, ask questions, or present facts that do not always reflect on people's actual experiences. So, Chapter Three shows how I could form dialogue with the participants without further reinforcing narration sickness. In addition, Chapter Four draws on my experience of conducting initial meetings to identify how this research contributed to narration sickness despite taking all precautions. Why must the oppressor alienate the oppressed? Freire addresses this question with the divisive tactics of the oppressor and the dual consciousness of the oppressed.

2.1.2.c Divisive tactics and dual consciousness

Freire (2000) writes that the oppressor fears of the unity of the oppressed; this fear makes the oppressor minority to divide the oppressed majority: 'A particular problem is the duality of the oppressed: they are contradictory, divided beings, shaped by and existing in a concrete situation of oppression and violence (p55)'.

The oppressor alienates the oppressed from their existential life; the more alienated the oppressed, the more passive they are. This allows the oppressor to divide the oppressed and keep them divided. For example, all of the marginalised communities in Kerala combined form a majority of the population, yet they remain oppressed. The oppressor cannot tolerate the unification of the oppressed majority because it could threaten the oppressor's domination. This leads them to label unity or strikes as dangerous to God's decisions, saying that it is God who created such differences, for example, the notion of Karma. The oppressed rarely come together to discuss their oppressive life due to these myths.

However, the oppressor is unable to deposit his/her own knowledge in a uniform manner because these deposits themselves contain contradictions. What the oppressed hear from the oppressors may contradict their own experiences. The oppressor does not want the oppressed to be aware of their oppression. Instead, the oppressor wants them to become sub-oppressors. This causes the oppressed to develop a hostile attitude towards their oppressed colleagues. Besides, the oppressed develop no consciousness of the oppressed because the consciousness of the oppressor cast over them. Although the oppressed are aware of their conditions of oppression, they are at the same time oppressors. They live in this duality due to contradictions about life that the oppressor has deposited on them. Freire provides enormous critical insights to explore the divisions and sub-divisions within the marginalised castes in Kerala. Nonetheless, there are limitations in Freire's works for understanding the oppressive caste-based society in India. For instance, Ambedkar (2000:34) refutes the class analysis for exploring the divisive nature of the Indian caste system (see Section 2.1.2.a):

> Castes form a graded system of sovereignties, high and low, which are jealous of their status and which know that if a general dissolution came, some of them stand to lose more of their prestige and power than others do. You cannot therefore have a general mobilisation of the Hindus (to use a military expression) for an attack on the Caste System.

Although Ambedkar also argues that mythical forms of caste-based knowledge maintain the supremacy of Brahmins within the caste system, for him, class revolution is useless to excite the

Hindus against the caste system. This is because caste identities of people such as the Brahmins, non-Brahmins within the caste hierarchy, and marginalised communities outside caste are ascribed not achieved like a proletariat or a bourgeoisie; additionally, within the outside castes people enjoy the benefits of caste the system like a Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya or a Sudra. Consequently, the dissolution of the caste system is hard as all these categories would lose their privilege one way or the other despite being victims of the system. Although, Freire considers the oppressed as sub-oppressors, his ideas are incomplete to address the arguments of Ambedkar; Freire discusses oppression within the oppressed based on the class positions of people but not their ascribed positions including caste, gender or ethnicity.

First, Freire (2000) discusses the power imbalance in an oppressive society: the oppressor uses banking education to maintain their power; power flows from the oppressor to the oppressed but not vice versa. Freire rarely considers how the oppressed could use power in the same way as the oppressor, how the oppressor could be a victim of power just like the oppressed and how the oppressor can develop a dual consciousness like the oppressed. Second, Freire argues that the oppressed imitate the activities of the oppressor. It shows the submersion of their critical consciousness due to banking education. However, Freire does not consider the different ways in which imitation occurs. For instance, how do people 'imitate' certain activates in the form of resistance? How do they challenge established norms and develop critical consciousness while imitating the dominant practices (see Section 2.3.2)? Many Indian scholars have explored the complex and divisive nature of the caste system in connection with division of labour, and linguistic and cultural diversity within the marginalised communities in India and Kerala.

The census report (Government of India, 2001) reveals that there are approximately 68 divisions among the non-Adivasi people (Scheduled Castes) and within these, there are sub-castes like North Pulayas, South Pulayas and so on. Similarly, there are about 35 divisions within the Adivasi communities in Kerala mainly the Paniyars, Kattunaikkans, KurichiayarsandMalai-Arayans: these groups all speak different languages or dialects in different regions in Kerala (KSSF, 2009). As Hanumandev (1916) and Vakathanam (2013) show, among the Viswakarma castes there are five sub-divisions: carpenters, potters, masons, blacksmiths and goldsmiths. Among the goldsmiths there are two major sub-divisions based on the language they speak: Malayalam goldsmiths and Tamil goldsmiths. The Malayalam goldsmiths speak the official language, Malayalam, and the Tamil goldsmiths speak both Malayalam and a dialect, which is a combination of Tamil and Malayalam. Similarly, the document of Edakkal Gramapanchayat (2011:13) reveals:

> മലയാളംപ്രത്യേകരീതിയിൽസംസാരിക്കുന്നു.ചാതുർവർ
> ണ്യത്തിന്സമാനമായ ഒരു സാമൂഹ്യക്രമം
> ഇവിടെനിലനിന്നിരുന്നു. ചെട്ടിമാർക്ക് ഊരായ്മ,
> പതിയർക്ക് കാരായ്മ, കുറുമർക്ക് മുളളങ്കണ്ടം
> (വേട്ട,യുദ്ധം), പണിയർക്ക് ചേറ് (അദ്ധ്വാനം) ഇതായിരുന്നു
> ആ സാമൂഹ്യക്രമം.
>
> People in Edakkal speak Malayalam in a particular way. There existed a social order, which was similar to the fourfold caste-system. Trusteeship of temple for Chetties, ownership of land for the Pathiyar,hunting for Kurumarsand labour for Paniyans was the social order.

The above passage represents an abstract of the history of Edakkal Gramapanchayat in Kerala, where the Adivasi community form a majority. The Adivasi community speak their own language apart from the official language, Malayalam. Historically, Edakkal had been a stratified society in Kerala. Major castes include Chetties and Pathiyars among the non-Adivasi community. The Adivasi community form a heterogeneous population including many sub-Adivasi groups such as Paniyans and Kurumars.

As per the above documents, there are many sub-divisions within each community. However, many scholars (Hanumandev, 1916; Sharma, 1989; Keer; 1990) rarely discuss whether these differences are the outcome of banking education on caste. Besides, they do not display how these conditions create marginalisation within the marginalised; what consciousness people form when they are further divided into different marginalised groups. On the other hand, scholars like Beteille (1971) and Roy (2011) discuss the diversity of Indian culture and the stratification of caste. They argue that India is the model for the rest of the world for maintaining unity among diversity despite having all manners of inequality. They ignore why this diversity occurs, who makes this culture and how such differences operate at a micro-level.

As I understand from many scholars such as Rege (2010) and Rao (2011) the upper caste community in India marginalise people, including myself (for example, the practice of untouchability, and restrictions on marriage, employment and education). Nonetheless, these scholars do not address whether the marginalised community make use of this stratification to take advantage of their own marginalised colleagues in Kerala. For example, in a documentary, Das (2010) said:

> In southern Kerala many sub-divisions of the Dalit community like *Pulaya*, *Paraya*, *Kuravas* fight each other. A *Parayan*will not drink water from a *Pulaya's* house and vice-versa. If it happens they would conduct 'sudhikalasham' (purifying bath) as the *Brahmins* do. (English translation)

In contrast, other scholars including Steur (2009) and KSSF (2009) only deal with permanent settlement of Adivasi communities in forestland and elaborate on the atrocities meted out to them in connection with the activities of many Adivasi community organisations in Wayanad. Nevertheless, they do not place much emphasis on how caste atrocities continue to be perpetrated at the implicit level even today in Kerala. Moreover, they do not tell us why there exist different forms of Adivasi units and how these organisations may reproduce marginalisation in their already marginalised life in Kerala. These issues are also relevant to my life as a member of a Viswakarma community:

> My family members never get married to people who belong to other viswakarma castes such as blacksmiths, potters, carpenters, stone masons. In exceptional circumstances did two of them marry into other visawakarma castes as they did not find partners from our own caste. In addition, we abuse each other by calling caste names such as *thattan*, *kollan*, *asary* as the upper caste people do to us.

The above researchers rarely examine whether these forms of marginalisation may exist within the Adivasi or the non-Adivasi organisations. However, John (2009) explores the tensions between many self-help groups in Kerala: SHGs are increasingly formed under the banner of religious organisations like SNDP and dominant caste organisations like NSS (Nair Service Society) and political parties replicating the model of the Kudumbashree SHGs in Kerala. For example, the Kudumbashree SHGs were a political decision of the Left Democratic Front (LDF) in Kerala. Consequently, the left-wing political parties have more involvement in the functioning of the Kudumbashree SHGs. This has made the opposite political party (UDF-United Democratic Front) start a similar SHG called Janashree (meaning prosperous people). However, John does not address whether these issues are merely a competition between religious organisations or a political conspiracy. He instead argues that the members are divided based on caste, religion and politics as they are members of more than one SHG in Kerala. These scholars rarely address how this social stratification and interactions of caste contributes to marginalisation within the marginalised. Although my initial focus was to explore how the marginalised people marginalise their marginalised peers I am unable to elaborate participants' narratives due to confidentiality considerations as evident from section 3.5.1. However, dialogical observation of participants' events enabled me to add the following issues:

Although Freire (2000) considers divisive tactics as essential features of banking education, his ideas are incomplete to explore how this oppression operates paradoxically in a stratified society like India. Likewise, many scholarly works (Kosambi, 2009; Ambedkar, 2004) consider caste as a

means of social stratification, inequality and oppression. Nevertheless, there is little emphasis on how caste and official discourses unite these differences to marginalise people. Consequently, I further explored how the oppressor divides themselves and forms SHGs in order to address the binary between oppression and liberation (see Section 5.3). I extended these ideas to explore contemporary functions of caste beyond false binaries (see Chapter Six).

Freire inspired me to consider the following implications of my research: the participants belong to different sub-divisions within the Adivasi community in Edakkal, so there might be clashes between the Adivasi community members themselves. Similarly, I am a male research student living abroad and I belong to a Tamil Goldsmith community, which is *superior* to the Adivasi community in Kerala. Furthermore, members of the Kudumbashree are women. Having been influenced by the banking forms of education, the participants or I may have the dual consciousness of being a member of a marginalised/*forward* caste (see Section 5.1.2.b). The participants or I may strengthen these differences while forming dialogue with each other. Chapter Four addresses how both similarities and differences potentially reproduce oppression and marginalisation.

It is evident from Freire (1998 b; 2000; 2005) that banking education mythicizes reality to serve the ideology of oppression. Freire argues that education should deal with the oppressor/oppressor dichotomy. What sort of education or research is needed to deal with such issues? Is the answer problem-posing education/ research? Should this a type of education be extended from school to home, community or village (Freire, 2005)? To what extent problem-posing education can be applied into research while working with the marginalised communities. These issues need to be addressed in order to explore the relationship between problem-posing education and problem-posing research.

2.2 PROBLEM-POSING EDUCATION

This section unpacks Freire's (1994; 2000; 2005) concept of problem-posing education in four sub-sections. Section 2.2.1 initially examines the nature of communication between the teacher and the students in the form of dialogue. Consequently, this section goes on to describe the role of leaders in dealing with marginalisation in the neighbourhood groups and community organisations in Kerala. This section further addresses the tensions between problem-posing education theory and practice in two sub-sections. First, this section discusses the extent to which problem-posing education reflects on the needs of marginalised students in Kerala. Second, this section examines some of the criticisms against Freire with regard to the application of his principles in community work and literacy programmes. Section 2.2.2 provides these issues in its relationship with the notion of praxis; this section discusses in detail the mutual role of the teacher and the students in dealing with marginalisation. Section 2.2.3 discusses the openness of the teacher in creating innovative thoughts among the students. Section 2.2.4 explains why people must keep refining their existing knowledge in terms of the unfinished nature of education.

2.2.1 Communication and dialogue

Addressing an alternative form of education, Freire (2000:80-1) writes:

> They must abandon the educational goal of deposit-making and replace it with the posing of the problems of human beings in their relations with the world. Problem-posing education responding to the essence of consciousness —intentionality -rejects communiqués and embodies communication.

Freire proposes that communication and dialogue are essential in liberating people from oppression. People who are committed to forming praxis can no longer receive the deposits of the oppressor. The oppressed cannot liberate themselves until they liberate education from banking models. For Freire, liberating education should be problem-posing that intermediates the teacher on the one hand and his/her students on the other hand. Neither the teacher nor the students can employ problem-posing education on their own. Alternatively, the teacher has to work with the students without alienating them. For instance, s/he must reflect on the needs of the students before presenting his/her knowledge; s/he then adds the students' proposals to replace his/her original knowledge. In short, the teacher learns while teaching and the students teach while learning; these dialogues facilitate both parties to form a horizontal communication. Freire further (2000:91) writes of these forms of communication and mutual relationships in problem-posing education:

> Authentic education is not carried on by 'A' for 'B' or by 'A' about 'B,' but rather by 'A' with 'B,' mediated by the world — a world which impresses and challenges both parties, giving rise to views or opinions about it.

Problem-posing education enables both parties to form a relationship of mutual trust and empathy. The teacher becomes a moderator, the students become participants, and there is no curriculum as in banking education but only combat programmes. Consequently, the teacher does not talk *for* the students or talk *about* the students, but the teacher communicates *with* the students, reflecting on their experiences outside of the classroom. For example, a Freire scholar Bartlett (2005:352) discusses the socialising aspects of teaching regarding her own experience of working with the popular educators in Brazil. These educators shared their own problems with the people as a way to form relationships with them. This would encourage people to talk about similar issues, which they might not discuss with a stranger. Therefore, the teacher and the students learn together while sharing their experiences in the form of dialogue. Freire (2000:88-9) writes of the nature of dialogue:

> And since dialogue is the encounter in which the united reflection and action of the dialoguers are addressed to the world which is to be transformed and humanized, this dialogue cannot be reduced to the act of one persons 'depositing' ideas in another, nor can it become a simple exchange of ideas to be 'consumed' by the discussants.

It is evident from Freire that dialogue occurs through the sharing of ideas: people must reflect on each other in a way that negotiates their initial opinions. Moreover, it is only through dialogue that the students break the culture of silence (Freire, 2000). Furthermore, Freire argues that dialogue provides a space for sharing or dealing with people's grievances.

Freire only discusses two forms of communication: in banking education, there is a vertical interaction between the teacher and the students; in contrast, interaction becomes horizontal in problem-posing education. In other words, the former is a monologue and the latter is a dialogue. However, Freire does not explore the different ways in which communication takes place between people. On the contrary, he talks about forms of communication only between people who are oppressors and people who are oppressed. Besides, he does not consider non-verbal or implicit forms of communication.

Sanalmohan (2007) identifies the way leaders in the past implicitly communicated to their members with radical contents of poetry to pose the slave experiences of Dalit Christians (converts from Hinduism to Christianity) in Kerala. Sanalmohan (2006:29) draws on the prayer

song of Yohannan (1996) the leader of the *Pratyakha Reksha Daiva Sabha* (PRDS), an organisation of people who are Dalit Christians in the early 1900s:

> If sold it is sailable again; If to be killed could be transferred for it again; Sold as absolute property; How could we forget it? Paired with oxen and buffaloes; Forced to plough the fields; Oh! God how do we forget the intense grief?

Sanalmohan argues that Dalits in Kerala joined Christianity to prevent themselves from caste atrocities, however they faced similar forms of marginalisation within the Church. They were treated as 'untouchables' even after conversion: this made Yohannan introduce their slave memories into prayer songs in the Church. He transformed the Biblical notions of 'sin' and 'salvation' into their daily experiences of oppression. This song was partly spiritual or mythical but it contained radical knowledge about their experience of marginalisation within the church.

As Rege (2010) claims, Ambedkar (1916) suggests dialogic education to move beyond examination-centred education in school. However, Rege does not elaborate how Ambedkar defined a dialogic form of education. Ambedkar (1979) communicates three thought-provoking ideas of *educate*, *agitate* and *organise* with his community members for dealing with caste oppression and marginalisation in India. First, people who are Dalits must get educated not only to gain qualification but also to be critically aware of their experiences of marginalisation as above. Above all, they must decline all irrational forms of knowledge and should seek true knowledge. Second, they must agitate, which does not mean violent protests but to prepare their minds to the next stage. Finally, they must organise people as follows: if you tell a slave that he is slave, this will make him agitate and organise. In other words, an individual educates himself and then educates others to agitate and organise. Mohindra (2003) explores how the members in a neighbourhood group discuss their lives: the members predominantly discuss their business affairs such as loans, credit and thrift facilities in a neighbourhood meeting in Kerala. Additionally, the members share their ideas about domestic matters of the NHGs. They invite scholars to discuss special topics of interest, for example 'women and legal rights. These findings taught methat NHG meetings provide possibilities for dialogue. However, Mohindra does not elaborate much on these NHG dialogues. Furthermore, he over-emphasizes the achievements of the NHG regarding microfinance.

As evident from Sanalmohan (2006), the prayer song reflects on the devotees' experience of marginalisation in the church and in Kerala. He considers PRDS as an organisation enabling the members to be aware of their marginalisation. Although this is an interesting fact, there is limited

focus on how the members experience marginalisation and how communication takes place between the leader and the members within the organisation. In his research on Kudumbashree SHGs, Mohindra (2003) focuses more on the micro-credit initiatives of women for dealing with poverty and issues of health in Kerala. There is less emphasis on how the members learn together about their oppression or marginalisation. He discovers that the discussions in the Kudumbashree SHG in Kerala made women members more confidence and autonomous than before. However, he does not investigate how they consider themselves as marginalised or not marginalised, or how they discuss their experiences of marginalisation with the leader and their fellow-members. He also discusses that the women invite experts to discuss issues in which they are interested. Nonetheless, he does not foresee to what extent such outside agencies discuss issues of a mutual interest in the neighbourhood groups in Kerala.

Even though Ambedkar's educational programme is based on reflection and dialogue, he gives more emphasis to self-education through non-formal education rather than talking about the mutual role of the educator and the people. His method of education is too people-centred, which contrasts with problem-posing education. In Rege's work, there is very little discussion about how the leaders in the community organisations today communicate similar ideas with the members. Hence, originally I intended to explore these issues with regard to how the leader communicates as a problem-posing educator and the members as participants in the neighbourhood group and the Adivasi community organisation in Edakkal. Nevertheless, Chapter Three explains why this question is revisited with regard to the absence of dialogue and problem-posing education in formal NHG meetings. Drawing on these issues, I explore the way in which leaders and members marginalise both banking and problem-posing models; the way people communicate and form dialogue in informal meetings beyond the leader-oppressor/member-oppressed binaries (see Chapter Five); and the way leaders deliver a marginal discussion of marginalisation in events (see Section 6.3).

Considering the relation between research and education, I must follow a problem-posing approach to work with the participants in Edakkal. My communication with the participants must not be in the form of depositing my critical incidents on others. Chapters Three and Four show how I explore the issues that prevent me from communicating and forming dialogue with the participants. Chapter Four further discusses how my communication with the participants fell into narration sickness despite taking these precautions.

2.2.1.a Problem-posing learning in formal education in Kerala

As evident from SCERT (2007), the government of Kerala introduced many programmes such as District Primary Education Programme (1991) and *SarvaSiksha Abhiyan* (SSA, 2001) in order to provide a collaborative classroom environment. Consequently, conventional examinations are being replaced by fieldwork, debates and group discussions (Krishnakumar, 1999 and Rampal, 2000). In theory, these reflect on Freire's (1994; 2000) problem-posing education, but in practice they raise many concerns; for example, Rampal (2000: 46) writes of parents' fears and doubts about the new curriculum: 'we had heard many complaints and doubts from some people who were convinced that the new curriculum was 'lowering the standards' of the children of Kerala'. As evident from Rampal, despite these benefits ofcollaborative learning practices some people critique the new curriculum as they think that children tend to make more spelling mistakes and they are unable to do simple multiplication or divisionin the new environment. Similarly, a Paniya Adivasi woman in Wayanad stated that:

> As all the subjects are taught in Malayalam, the lack of proficiency in the language leads Paniya children to perform poorly in other subjects too. This pushes them lower and lower in class performance and inconsiderate teachers aggravate the situation. Learning a new language such as English or Hindi does not lead to similar problems. Children of all castes and tribes are on a level of playing field when it comes to learning English, Hindi or Mathematics and Paniya children tend to perform well. The fear is much less when it comes to these subjects. (SHREYAS, 2010:62)

As the above narrative shows us, and many scholars (Susanna and Garcia, 2006; Swamy, 2010; 2011; Gautam, 2003) argue, the situation of Adivasi children in Kerala did not change a lot despite receiving course materials in their own local language as part of the above educational reforms. This means that the students can then switch over into the official language, Malayalam. The Government recruited teachers from the Adivasi community and opened up residential schools for them. Contrary to this, a student who belongs to an Adivasi community told staff members of an organisation that:

> At Kanav, I got to meet many books and even some authors. In the regular school, text books seem to be all important. At Kanav, we chose our texts. We even made some of our own text books. (SHREYAS, 2010:96)

SHREYAS (2010) argues that people in the non-formal education project Kanavenjoyed their learning in Wayanad. This centre does not follow a formal syllabus and examination system. People walk through villages and streets and share their experiences with their colleagues; they also perform drama, story sessions and pottery workshops, and make documentaries about their

life. Similarly, in a residential *Adivasi* school in Wayanad, the teachers and students live together like a family (Varanasi Ashram Trust, 2015). They jointly engage in various activities such as planting, stitching and tailoring, carpentry work, basket making and bookbinding in addition to the formal methods of education.

Freire (1994; 2000;2005) writes of problem-posing methods outside of the school, where the educator and the participants learn together in a collaborative way without a curriculum, formal syllabus or examination. Susanna and Garcia (2006) claim that the new educational forms in Kerala failed to achieve this goal. Nevertheless, people enjoy similar forms of learning in community education centres in Wayanad. However, these scholars do not make it clear why this is happening differently in both formal and non-formal education settings in Wayanad. There, the community centres are run by the local non-governmental organisations. However, SHREYAS (2010) does not articulate whether the organisation planned such activities in negotiation with the Adivasi community in Wayanad. The government claims that they emphasize a collaborative relationship between the teacher and the students in Kerala's formal education system. Nevertheless, the literature does not say how these conditions actually exist in the classroom. In contrast, government (SCERT, 2007) and non-governmental authorities (SHREYAS, 2010) and scholars (Swamy, 2010; 2011; Menon, 2013) evaluate such reforms by quantitatively assessing the students' performance, ability to communicate and dropout rates. These scholars rarely emphasizes why such students in Kerala drop out; why they face communication barriers; and why they score less despite accessing text books in their own language.

The neighbourhood groups in Kerala perform many activities similar to those of the community education centre. For example, the members attend many training programmes within and outside of the neighbourhood groups in Kerala (Mohindra, 2003; Minimol and Makesh, 2012; Sivaprakash and Chandrashekar, 2012). However, none of the scholars address these activities in relation to the experience of problem-posing education in Kerala. Minimol and Makesh (2012) argue that absenteeism, drop-out rates and group conflicts are the key signs of marginalisation with regard to the women in the SHGs in Kerala. Again, they do not explore why the members drop out, why they are absent and why conflict exists. Hence, I explored problem-posing education in relation to their experiences of marginalisation. Chapters four and five offer answers to the following questions: What conditions make the members attend or not attend their weekly meeting? What stops them from communicating in the neighbourhood group and the Adivasi community organisation in Edakkal? Although these questions did not change much during the

fieldwork, I extended these questions in comparison with their informal meetings as well. Moreover, these questions caused me to explore the binary between oppression and liberation and the binary between silence and dialogue

In the research, I must clearly communicate well with the participants about what is going to be explored, and the aims and objectives of research before fieldwork. Otherwise, the participants may withdraw. In addition, some may wish to participate but some others may not. Chapters Three and Four discuss some major questions: how did I form dialogue with the participants by reflecting on their language and communication style to minimise marginalisation. How did I include and exclude certain people by finding potential research participants? Drawing on these field experiences, I explore the extent to which formal meetings contribute to banking models and how people resist meetings with banking natures beyond the false binary between the leader-oppressor and the member-oppressed (see Chapter Five). As evident from this section, the problem-posing method may be hard to implement in schools. Freire (2005) used this method in his literacy programme in Brazil. In addition, other scholars including Facundo (1984) applied Freire's methods in literacy campaigns in the United States.

2.2.1.b Problem-posing education: putting theory into practice

Facundo (1984:1) explains how Freire and his methodological insights were perceived by the American Catholic Conference (USCC): 'Paulo Freire is very much in vogue these days, but anyone who reads him will agree that he has a desiccated [sic], metaphysical way of wrapping up his ideas that is most disconcerting'. Facundo (1984) makes two major criticisms against Freire. First, Freire's theory and methods were difficult to implement, and Facundo's colleagues complained that Freire's ideas were obscure. Second, Freire's literacy work in Guinea-Bissau was a failure: Facundo blames Freire for using Portuguese language, inadequate materials and personnel and poor project organisation. The project did not fit with the socio-economic conditions in the West African republic of Guinea-Bissau. Guinea-Bissau is a multi-cultural society where people have different religions, dress code, food habits and marriage rules. Moreover, they speak more than 20 languages: main languages and the percentage of people who speak them are Balante (26%), Fula (23%), Mandingo (12%), Manjaro (10.6%) and Creole (45%). These are all oral languages and are not available in written formats. However, Freire failed to consider the diverse cultural background of Guinea-Bissau and he used Portuguese instead of the language of the majority, Creole, an Africanised Portuguese.

Robert Mackie (1997) argues that Facundo questions Freire's work without actually exploring what happened in Guinea-Bissau: Freire was not the only one involved in this project; he had limited control in its implementation, especially in choosing the mode of communication. Freire suggested Creole not Portuguese, however, the Adult Education Department prepared materials in Portuguese as they could not recruit adequate personnel and did not have enough funds to prepare them in Creole. Facundo ignores these issues, and puts all blame on Freire for the research's failure. Mackie also argues that Facundo has misunderstood Freire's theory and methods. For example, she presents Freire as saying there is only one way of understanding reality. Mackie argues that this is not true: for Freire, knowledge is incomplete and people must reinvent knowledge rather than transplanting their own ideas mechanically into different empirical contexts. Freire never said that his methods would be successful all the time. For example, Henry Giroux (1985:xii) says:

> What Freire does 'is provide a metalanguage that generates a set of categories and social practices that have to be critically mediated by those who would use them for the insights they might provide in different historical settings and contexts.'

Giroux argues that revolutionary educators using Freire should not only critique Freire but also be aware of the limitations of their own methodology: for Giroux, Freire never considered his method as radical recipes for others to follow; on the contrary, Freire's methods are just theoretical signposts for scholars to decode critically in particular empirical contexts. Mackie argues that Facundo fails to understand these methodological insights and she was frustrated by thinking that Freire's ideas were not applicable.

Freire (1985:14) responds to these criticisms that researchers should have some experiences with people not just by assessing books; otherwise, researchers would not understand his work at all. Freire further identifies the implications of his methods in different cultural contexts: in Germany, people prefer theory, not facts; but in America, it is the opposite. For Freire, neither theories nor facts have existence on their own. Freire already admitted that there would be issues of translation, especially in the American context. Furthermore, he responded to these criticisms that he did not write anything static; people should frame their own theories and methods: his method is not a guide for others to follow.

I have learned from Freire that the researcher and the participants should learn from/teach each other, mediated by their living experiences. The researcher must no longer be a docile listener to any theory; he must not duplicate the methods of others in a banking way. The criticisms about

Freire's work in Guinea-Bissau and Facundo's work in the United States made me aware of similar issues in my research. The socio-economic conditions of people are different in each part of my country, especially in Kerala. Officially, there are more than fourteen languages and each language is spoken differently, similar to the situation in Guinea-Bissau. The majority of people, including myself, speak Malayalam, but the Adivasi community speak both Malayalam and their own dialect. Hence, I expected some issues of communication between us. As this thesis is written in English and will be submitted to a foreign university, there are issues regarding translation, dignity of participants' voices and readability. Appendix Two revisits these questions to discuss how the participants and I learned each other's language dialogically.

2.2.2 Praxis

According to Freire, educators must develop their own theory and methods in negotiation with the people. Freire (2000:87) writes of the mutual role of the educator and the people:

> Within the word we find two dimensions, reflection and action, in such radical interaction that if one is sacrificed — even in part — the other immediately suffers. There is no true word that is not at the same time praxis.Thus, to speak a true word is to transform the world.

Freire argues that both the teacher and the students are jointly responsible for the production of knowledge in an open platform through dialogue. True word is the essence of dialogue, which is the encounter between people who engage together in praxis. They transform the world by expressing, developing, re-creating and affirming their humanity. However, neither the teacher nor the students can engage in praxis alone: both parties have a mutual role in this co-constructing knowledge. Freire makes these claims regarding his experience of playing a 'game' with the farm labourers in Brazil. Freire (1994) asked ten questions based on his academic knowledge, but the labourers could not answer any; similarly, Freire could not answer when the labourers asked ten questions about their life in their turn:

> First question: What is the Socratic maieutic? General guffawing: score one for one.
> Now it's your turn to ask me a question, I said.
> There was some whispering and one of them tossed out the question:
> What's a contour curve?
> I could not answer. I marked down one to one.
> What importance does Hegel have in Marx's thought? Two to one.
> What is soil liming? Two to two.
> What's an intransitive Verb? Three to three.
> What's epistemology? Four to three.
> What's Green Fertilizer? Four to four.
> And so on, until we got ten to ten.
> 'I knew 10 things you did not, and you knew 10 things I did not. Let us think about this.' (1994:47)

The labourers had many things to teach Freire–for example, how to apply fertilizers–although they were unfamiliar with Freire's philosophy. Freire's questions reflect his wide reading in philosophy; the labourers' questions show their expertise in modern fertilisers and machines. Therefore, both the teacher and the students have a mutual role in praxis. If I had been there to join the game, I could not have answered either Freire or the labourers. bel hooks (1994:53) shares similar thoughts:

> The experience of black people, black females might tell us more about the experience of women in general than simply an analysis that looks first, foremost, and always at those women who reside in privileged locations.

Similarly, in the neighbourhood groups in Kerala, the leaders and the members who belong to different castes may have different experiences. A woman who belongs to an Adivasi community can speak as a representative of women in general and the oppressed/marginalised women in particular. For example, Ambedkar (1916) argues that Indian women face oppression and marginalisation as seen in the practices of dowry, prohibition of widow re-marriage and Sati, illustrated in Figure Four.

Figure Four
The practice of Sati in ancient India

Source: Heaphy,L (2010:.n.k) Life in India: The practice of Sati or widow burning-Available front: http://www.kashgar.com.au/articles/life-in-india-the-practice-of-sati-or-widow-burning [Accessed on 24.07.13]

The above portrait shows us the practice of Sati in ancient India: here the villagers prompt a widow to burn herself in the funeral pyre of her deceased husband in order to commit Sati. According to Ambedkar (1916), initially Sati was considered to be an altruistic practice performed by widows. However, it later became compulsory, which was determined by caste norms. For example, this practice prevents young widows from marrying a man belonging to a marginalised caste. This ensures the caste norms of purity and prohibition of widow remarriage. In addition to these

practices, the women who are Dalits in India suffer from other forms of oppression and marginalisation: women who are Dalits in Kerala had to pay tax for their breasts (Sekar, 2013); they were expected to bare their breasts or upper part of their body; they were also prohibited from receiving formal education (Abraham, 2003).

In short, a woman who belongs to an Adivasi community may be more marginalised than a woman who belongs to an upper caste in Kerala. In the Kudumbashree NHGs, all the members are women. Moreover, a male researcher belonging to a non-Adivasi community may not be able to investigate similar issues adequately with the women members in the NHGs. Researchers (John, 2009; Gurukkal, 2008) who investigate marginalisation in Kerala based on caste have not addressed these issues.

In the light of these learning experiences, I wanted to explore: how both the leader and members learn together and produce knowledge about such particular experiences of marginalisation; how the members learn about marginalisation interwoven with issues of poverty and caste in neighbourhood groups. Since these sorts of issues did not form an agenda of formal meetings and events, I could not explore these issues within the NHGs. However, dialogical observation of these meetings and the participants' implicit proposals enabled me to make these questions more specific (see Chapter Four). So, I explored how caste functions paradoxically in its attempt to deal with poverty and related issues as a way of addressing the relation between banking models and invasion and meetings (see Chapter Six).

I learned from Freire (1994; 2000; 2005) that problem-posing educators must reject a teacher-centred approach to learning. They are experts in their subjects but not in the lived experiences of people. Chapters Three and Four show how I tried to research marginalisation with the Adivasi community as a male non-Adivasi researcher. Additionally, I explore how the participants' informal proposals and meetings prompted me to review more literature and then refine them in the form of praxis (see Section 6.1). To what extent evaluation meetings minimised the oppressive tendencies of participatory models (see Chapter Four). To what extent dialogue and praxis enabled the participants to transform/deal with their oppression to address the binary between Freire's dual and critical consciousness and the educational nature of research (see Section5.1.2.b).

2.2.3 Possibilities of innovation

Freire (1998a:49) writes of the essential qualities of a teacher in problem-posing education:

> How to teach is to create possibilities for the construction and production of knowledge rather than to be engaged simply in a game of transferring knowledge .When I enter a class-room I should be open to questions, and open to the curiosities of the students as well as their inhibitions.

For Freire (1998a), innovation is an important requirement of the problem-posing model. In this model, the teacher no longer reiterates the programme contents but s/he reflects on students' experiences and allows the students to co-construct knowledge with an open mind. Thus, the students produce innovative knowledge of their own life in the form of dialogue and avoid listening to the teacher's monologue. In problem-posing education, every classroom is a new learning experience for both the teacher and the students providing them with a new topic for innovation. Freire (1998 a) argues that the teacher will only inhibit innovation if s/he merely transmits knowledge in a banking way. In banking education, each day is a repetition of the previous one. For example, in 2002, while I was a postgraduate student my tutor told me that 'since the formation of our sociology department in 1962, our university has followed the same syllabus. I have been teaching the same things that my tutors have taught me.'

Nevertheless, we discussed many issues in Kerala with our lecturer. One day, we discussed unemployment among the traditional goldsmiths in Kerala in her lectures on 'class theory.' On another day, we discussed about a farmer's suicide in Wayanad with the theory of 'anomie.' However, we had learned other theories that we did not understand or that did not feature in our life in Kerala. When we discussed this with my tutor, she told us that 'I have discussed your concerns in the faculty meeting. However, the majority opined that a sociology student must learn all these theories.'

In the light of this experience, I am keen to address the limitations of the literature on the educational experience of people in Kerala. My teacher was open to discussing our issues, but she had to teach us according to the syllabus. A teacher has some limitations as s/he has to follow the norms of the university otherwise s/he would lose his/her job. Turning back to the educational reforms in Kerala, the government claims that new reforms emphasize a collaborative relationship between the teacher and the students (2.2.1.a). I learn myself from the above experience that there is always a possibility for education to become banking education no matter whatever reforms we have. None of the scholars (SHREYAS, 2010; Susanna and Garcia, 2003) raises these issues when discussing the failure of problem-posing education in Kerala.

The leader of the self-help groups in Kerala must follow norms and procedures just like the teacher (see my critical incident above). For example, the goal of the Kudumbashree SHGs in Kerala is to eradicate poverty within ten years by mobilising women who belong to poor families. The general procedures of the SHGs may not address issues in a district like Wayanad, where the Adivasi community form a majority. Scholars (Sivaprakash and Chandrashekar, 2012; Mohindra, 2003) who have researched the Kudumbashree SHGs or community organisations have not investigated these issues in Kerala. They would rather discuss how the members achieve economic independence or access employment opportunities through microfinance; they consider SHGs as a platform for solving issues of poverty and gender; they do not pay attention to how these women engage in dialogue to come up with innovative knowledge in the SHGs in Kerala.

However, Minimol and Makesh (2012) argue that SHG members in Kerala are expected to discuss their issues and find solutions on their own. Although formal procedures do not limit the members' opportunities for discussion the members do not discuss key issues like dowries and alcoholism. Minimol and Makesh consider weekly meetings as a platform for solving issues outside of the SHGs in Kerala. These scholars discuss the members' ability to carry out thrift and credit activities, banking and organisational skills. Minimol and Makeshdo not discuss how the formal procedures of the SHGs in Kerala limit the members' opportunity to have an open discussion just like the students in school. As per the official documentation of the Kudumbashree (2015) SHG in Kerala, these meetings are conducted by the secretaries in the NHGs and ADSs, and by the chairperson in CDS. However, these scholars do not talk about the role of these leaders and their involvement in the meetings in the SHGs in Kerala. Therefore, this body of literature is inadequate to explore the extent to which the leader and the members together contribute to innovative knowledge of their new experiences of marginalisation in the neighbourhood groups in Kerala.

I intended to explore the experience of education of members as follows. To what extent does the formal procedure limit the members' potential to contribute innovative knowledge? What conditions stop the leader from being open to addressing the emerging conditions of marginalisation? My informal dialogues with the participants prompted me to refine these questions: how both written and unwritten policies make NHG meetings banking and how members marginalise meetings to refine Freire's models of education and oppression (see Chapter Five).

Freire (1998 a) inspires me to be open enough to reflect on the participants' experiences. Otherwise, I could only duplicate the findings of other scholars, which would inhibit the possibilities for innovation and co-production. So, Chapter Three shows how I could exploreparticipants' on-going experiences of oppression and marginalisation with an open mind. How the participants and I should co-construct innovative ideas for dealing with marginalisation? Chapter Four further elaborates on this: how dialogical observation of formal and informal meetings enabled us to minimise the oppressive tendencies of participation in fieldwork and co-construct knowledge with the participants.

2.2.4 Conscientization: awareness of unfinishedness

Freire (1998a:55) writes of education as an unfinished activity:

> In truth, conscientization is as requirement of our human condition. It is one of the roads we have to follow if we are to deepen our awareness of our world of facts, of events, of the demands of human consciousness to develop our capacity for epistemological curiosity far from being alien to our human condition, and conscientization is natural to unfinished humanity that is aware of its unfinishedness.

People develop critical consciousness through dialogue, which Freire (1998a) calls conscientization. The oppressed become aware of their unfinishedness, which is made and remade through praxis. They become fully human and aware of their marginalisation through conscientization. However, this struggle for humanisation is not static but an ongoing process. I have learned from Freire that education itself does not educate people. On the contrary, the awareness of their unfinishedness makes them educate. The teachers and the students should work together with other forms of knowledge that are rarely used in formal education (Freire, 1998a). For instance, the following passage presents my nephew's dialogue with his teacher, which he disclosed to me in July 2008:

> My Chemistry teacher said in the classroom, 'The most pure gold has a hallmark of 916.'
>
> I replied, 'No, teacher, pure gold is not a 916 hallmark or 22 carat. Only advertisements say this. It is a mixture of gold and copper; pure gold must definitely be 100 % which is equal to 24 carats, I have seen both at home when I used to help my dad.'
>
> Teacher: 'Well done, you explain this better than me.'
> Me: 'I don't know anything more about that, but you may know more if you come to my home.'

In the jewellery market in Kerala, people find jewellery with many brands ranging from 8 carats to 22 carats; within these, 22 carat jewellery is probably the most pure brand. However, advertisements claim that 'we sell pure gold with a 916 hallmark.' This might have influenced the teacher to say that the most pure gold is 916. My nephew on the other hand conveyed that 22 carats is 22 parts gold and 2 parts of another metal that forms an alloy. Gold is too soft to make jewellery unless we alloy it with copper. Accordingly, customers may rarely find 24 carat gold jewellery. The teacher did not consider the student's experience outside of the classroom before talking about gold. This is because she does not have experience as my nephew has in Goldsmithy. Freire raises similar issues in his analysis of the struggle of the oppressed for humanisation. For him, the unique experiences of the oppressed are crucial for the oppressed to engage in praxis with their oppressed peers. In other words, Freire (2000:45) writes of the capability of the oppressed to understand and share their experiences of oppression:

> Who are better prepared than the oppressed to understand the terrible significance of an oppressive society? Who suffer the effects of oppression more than the oppressed? Who can better understand the necessity of liberation?

As is evident from Freire (2000), only the oppressed can speak of their oppression better than the oppressor. The communication between my nephew and his teacher reflects on problem-posing education, because the teacher was open to letting the student talk as a way of forming dialogue in the classroom. The dialogue between the teacher and my nephew shows us how the market in Kerala works and influences the customers. Also, it shows their unfinished nature of education. Consequently, knowledge gained by the both the teacher and the students is provisional. Kerala Government (SCERT, 2007) has also reformed the curriculum when considering education as unfinished:

> The curriculum that we design now is not meant for the teachers who either impart knowledge as a finished product or leave the task of knowledge construction entirely to the students and stay away completely (SCERT, 2007:29)

SCERT (2007) aims for a dialogical education in Kerala. However, it positions the teacher as a social engineer who gives the right directions to his/her students, rather than emphasising a mutual relationship. Likewise, those who critique these reforms (Gautam, 2003; Swamy, 2010; 2011) do not address to what extent these reforms in Kerala reflect on Freire's (1994; 2000; 2005) problem-posing education. Besides, they do not explore how the above recommendations are actually implemented in schools. On the other hand, the literature (SHREYAS, 2010; Varanasi Ashram Trust, 2015) on community centres only deals with the activities of the students in

Wayanad. They ignore the limitations of adopting problem-posing education as part of the formal curriculum in Kerala as a whole.

Like my nephew, the Adivasi members in the neighbourhood group in Edakkal may have many things to offer. They may have different experiences of marginalisation, which is different from mine. For instance, my nephew questioned the knowledge base of the teacher, who provided wrong information about the purity of gold. The teacher on the other hand, appreciated this knowledge and admitted her mistake. I do not think that such an episode would have happened during my period of schooling. These reflections enable me to explore how both the leaders and the members educate each other about their unfinished knowledge. How do the leader and the members refine their knowledge in the form of negotiation in the NHG and Adivasi community organisation? Again, this question is extended to participants' informal meetings: how the Adivasi community marginalise problem-posing models as a way of addressing marginalisation as banking education (see Section 5.3). Similarly, research is also unfinished and is continually developing. It is an ongoing process of forming dialogue with other scholarly works as well as with participants. Chapters Three and Four together discuss how the participants and I frequently learned about oppression and marginalisation through negotiations.

I learned from the previous sections that Freire (1994; 1998 a; 2000; 2005) polarises both banking and problem-posing education. On the one hand, Freire considers dichotomy, domination, silence, myths and narration sickness as the essential features of banking education. On the other hand, he considers mutuality, empathy, praxis, dialogue, innovation and conscientization as the features of problem-posing education. Similarly, banking education curbs people's critical consciousness and causes them to form a dual consciousness; in contrast, problem-posing education deals with this dual consciousness and encourages people to develop critical consciousness. In short, Freire critiques banking education as the main cause of oppression and considers problem-posing education as an alternative. Freire mainly employs problem-posing methods in adult education programmes in Brazil. Nevertheless, he does not criticise problem-posing education very much. How does problem-posing education replace banking education completely? How can both forms of education co-exist?

2.3 OPPRESSION, MARGINALISATION AND EDUCATION: BEYOND FALSE BINARIES

This section is an elaboration of some of the key issues addressed in the previous sections. In other words, this section gives a detailed critical account of Freire's (1994; 1998a; 1998b; 2000; 2005) concept of oppression and education beyond false binaries. Section 2.3.1 and parts of Sections 2.1.1, and 2.2.1.a criticise Freire's notion of the oppressor/oppressed and teacher/student dichotomy. Divisive tactics and imitation are discussed in Section 2.3.2 and in part of Section 2.1.2.c critically discusses the extent to which the marginalised community perceives the dominant cultural practices in Kerala in relation to banking education. Section 2.3.3 and parts of Sections 2.1.1 and 2.2.1 revisit Freire's notion of silence, drawing on my classroom experience.

2.3.1 *Oppressor/oppressed* relationships in Kerala

In order to revisit Freire's (2000) teacher/student and oppressor/oppressed dichotomy, this section discusses some empirical literature on educational reforms in Kerala. As evident from Section 2.2.1.a, the Kerala Government (SCERT, 2007) introduced an activity-based curriculum for dialogical education at the grassroots level. However, some newspaper reports show that such reforms were controversial all over the state of Kerala: the controversy centred on a chapter in a social science textbook for seventh standard students in the academic year 2008-09. The chapter (Government of Kerala, 2008:24) presents a story raising some important concerns. Should religion and caste be imposed on to children? Could children have their own choice of religion? The following passage is a conversation between the school head and the parent of the student Jeevan during his school admission.

> What is the name of your son?
> Jeevan
> Good, nice name; Father's name?
> .....
> Mother's name?
> .....
> The headmaster looked at the parents and asked.
> What about the religion of the child?
> Need not record anything.
> Write no religion
> Caste?
> No need of that too
> The headmaster reclined in the chair and asked seriously.
> When he grows up if he wishes to have a religion?
> In that case let him choose the religion of his choice.

I have depersonalised the controversial part of the textbook including its title. The student Jeevan is born to an inter-married couple. As their names indicate, the parents belong to different religions. So, they choose secular name for their son, Jeevan, which means life. In addition, the parents may want their son to develop a secular attitude; they may not want to impose their own religious preference. However, people can misinterpret the title in order to refer to a world without religion. Since it is deemed controversial in terms of religion, I did not discuss this further. Nonetheless, I find the above story as an attempt to deal with the students' experience of banking education. This chapter was introduced with the advent of problem –posing education in Kerala.

According to the staff reporter (2008) of 'The Hindu' newspaper, community organisations in Kerala have alleged that it affects their religious preferences. They also criticised the left-wing government for imposing atheist values. Community and political organisations went onto the streets and set fire to the textbooks. Nonetheless, the Government said that the book was a recommendation of the National Curriculum Framework Committee. The government refined the chapter after hearing the recommendations of an expert panel. The expert panel suggested a new title of വിശ്വാസസ്വാതന്ത്ര്യം (Freedom to Believe). In addition, they recommended removing the name of the parents. However, rest of the text remained the same.

Either the government or the dominant caste could play a crucial role in syllabus formation in Kerala. As the leaders of caste organisations said, the textbook could have a political agenda. With regard to this controversy, the following insights are missing in the literature on the failures of educational reforms in Kerala. Although there were allegations of the government imposing *atheist/secular* values, there was negotiation as the authorities revised the content. On the other hand, people used violent methods of protest, which are the tactics of the oppressor for Freire (1994; 1998a; 2000; 2005). As distinct from Freire's dichotomy between the oppressor and the oppressed in connection with education, I am keen to address two issues in response to the textbook controversy. Can problem-posing education be a means of oppression just like banking education? Can both the state and the people simultaneously act as the oppressor as well as the oppressed? However, Freire's ideas of education and oppression are insufficient to explore these issues. So, I expected to explore how the leader and the members simultaneously act as banking and problem-posing education teachers, and the members as students in the neighbourhood group and the Adivasi community organisation in Edakkal. Chapter Three discusses what caused me to refine these questions in accordance with participant's informal recommendations. In response to the revised questions, I explored how meetings provide a parallel to education

beyond false binaries; how events contribute to caste invasion and marginalisation in connection with pseudo participatory development (Chapters Five and Six).

As in section 2.1.1, Freire (2000) hardly discuss the relationships of domination beyond false binaries. Fuller (1976) and Bhai (1987) explore that the Christians form a minority in Kerala next to the Muslims. However, in my Panchayat, a person belonging to a marginalised caste became President, but most of the elected members belonged to the Roman Catholic Christian community and some of them belonged to upper caste Hindus. During the course of my MPhil fieldwork (Syamprasad, 2008), I identified that the elected members marginalised the President. One elected member, Raji who belongs to a dominant Christian community, told me:

> Look at the President; he is too humble in the Panchayat meetings. He should show more enthusiasm and must be serious rather than calling his administrative staff members 'sir.' He should show some dominant gestures rather than respecting everyone (Raji, one-to-one dialogue, 26.08.2005)

For Raji, the President's behaviour was quite strange and she thought he was inefficient. When I observed the meetings, I felt that members, who belong to the Nair caste and the Roman Catholic community, dominated the President who belongs to an Ezhava caste. On several occasions they did not even let him speak. This was as a result of how Roman Catholic community members maintained their domination in my Panchayat (Syamprasad, 2008): the President always asked his colleagues' opinions before making any decision. These 'unnecessary' behaviours of the President made the members annoyed. These field notes now remind me to refine Freire's (2000) oppressor/oppressed or teacher/student dichotomy, which I failed to do in 2008: On the one hand, despite holding a leadership position, the President did not oppress or marginalise his members; instead, he dealt with things in a consensual way to reflect the opinions of the members. Consequently, he may be an implicit Freire scholar who does not want to marginalise the members. On the other hand, the elected representatives were able to question him without holding any leadership positions; however, they had the privilege of being members of elite Hindu or Christian communities. Linking Freire (1998a) with the above observations inspires me to understand that this research is an unfinished and on-going journey.

Freire's (2000) notions of dichotomy and domination are inadequate to explore how does the teacher/student dichotomy operate when the teacher is the oppressed class and the students are oppressors? Just like Freire, the findings of other scholars (John, 2009; Mohindra, 2003;Minimol, 2012; Nidheesh, 2009) are insufficient to explore similar forms of oppression in the

neighbourhood groups in Kerala. So, I research to what extent the leaders and members simultaneously act as the oppressor as well as the oppressed and their contribution to banking education, problem-posing education and marginalisation in formal meetings and events in Southern Wayanad (see Chapters four to seven). I have learned from these ideas that the relationship between the researcher and the participants could be banking or problem-posing or both. So, Chapter Three displays how the participants and I could avoid marginalisation in forming dialogues? Drawing on these issues, Chapter Four revisits the teacher-researcher and student-participants relationships.

2.3.2 Banking education: imitation or resistance

Section 2.1.2.c discusses how the oppressor wants the oppressed to be sub-oppressors and to keep them divided. It makes the oppressed develop a dual consciousness and attraction towards the oppressor's way of life. Furthermore, the oppressed develop a desire to be equal to the oppressor. For example, Freire (2000:62) writes:

> In their alienation, the oppressed want at any cost to resemble the oppressors, to imitate them, to follow them. This phenomenon is especially prevalent in the middle-class oppressed, who yearn to be equal to the 'eminent' men and women of the upper class.

The oppressed deny their own existence and tend to adopt the cultural practices of the oppressor as their own. This is an effect of banking education, which adopts the oppressed into the structure of domination. The Indian sociologist Srinivas (1952, 1962 and 1966) used the term 'sanskritisation' to refer to similar practices in India. Srinivas argues that the marginalised community in India imitate the activities of the upper castes in their attempts to achieve social mobility, for example, adopting dress codes and food habits of the upper caste. There are empirical studies that discuss whether these activities are imitations of or resistance to dominant practices in Kerala: for Hanumandev (1916), the Viswakarma community in Kerala believe that all five Viswakarma castes are born from the five different faces of Lord Brahma as in Figure Five.

Source: Reddiyar, S.T(1987:430) *Srimadmahabhagavatham*.Kollam:Reddiyar and sons Ltd.

In the above Figure, Lord Viswakarma has five faces from which the following rishies (priests) were born. From his eastern face, *Manu*; from his western face, *Maya*; from his upper face, *Twashta*; from his northern face, *Shilpi*; and from his southern face, *Viswajnha*. All these rishies are Brahmins who are believed to be the ancestors of the contemporary artisan castes in Kerala: carpenters, potters, blacksmiths, masons and goldsmiths (Reddiyar, 1987).

This is similar to the divine origin theory of caste (see Section 2.1.2.a). As evident from Béteille (1995), the Viswakarma community claim to be Viswa Brahmin; they have adopted caste names such as Asari, or Brahmin Gotras, and they are priests in certain parts of India, which is related to their origin in the Brahmin race. Another example would be Srinarayana Guru, the leader of the SNDP who built a separate temple for the Ezhavas (Krishnan, 2012). Similarly, Gopalakrishnan (2012) argues that Ayyankali, a leader who belonged to a marginalised community, wore princely clothes and rode a bullock cart in the streets in 1893 as the Brahmins do. A contemporary representation of his famous Villuvandi Yatra (bullock cart riding) at Cherayi beach in Ernakulam in Kerala to mark his 150th birth anniversary is given in Figure Six.

Figure Six
The statue of Ayyankali riding a bullock cart

Source: The Hindu(2012:n.k) The Hindu images. *The Hindu*. 31. August http://www.thehinduimages.com/hindu/photoDetail.do?photoId=135797417 [Accessed on 24.07.13]

The following are the major limitations of the notion of imitation: MN Srinivas analyses sanskritisation as a means of social mobility. However, Lynch (1969) argues that these imitations would not give people mobility but they legitimise caste by itself. As Sharma (1989) emphasizes, the myth of the Viswakarma shows their refusal to accept the Brahmins as priests. Hanumandev (1916) ignores these arguments but considers sanskritisation as a means of having equal status with Brahmins. Similarly, for both Gopalakrishnan (2012) and Krishnan (2012) Dalits were not allowed to wear bright clothes and gold jewellery, they could not walk on the streets, become priests and enter the temple; Ayyankali and Guru violated these caste norms through imitation. However, both Gopalakrishnan (2012) and Krishnan (2012) ignore the above discussions revolving around imitation or resistance. Appendix Two further develops such marginal discussions of marginalisation in relation to Foucault's notion of discourse and power.

According to Freire (1994; 2000), imitation is the result of banking education, which submerges critical consciousness. However, this imitation itself may make people challenge their existing forms of marginalisation. In addition to these, Freire (1998 b;2000) argues that the oppressor creates myths to justify their ideology of oppression. Freire ignores whether the oppressed could make alternative myths as a way of challenging the myths of the oppressor. However, it is evident from Hanumandev (1916) that the marginalised castes have also produced their own myths in Kerala. Hence, I explore how the Adivasi community refine established myths and how they are related to implicit forms of caste oppression (see Section 6.1). Moreover, scholars like

Hanumandev discuss issues in relation to the upper caste/lower caste dichotomy in the broader social context rather than exploring how they operate at the micro level.

For example, someone may prefer a dress code, food or clothing, which may not always be related to a dominant caste/culture. People may prefer one dress code for one occasion but a different one for another occasion. Furthermore, there is also the influence of technology or fashion and sometimes a professional requirement: children in the international schools in Kerala are expected to follow a western syllabus and western uniforms. Here the decision of parents and children to select an international school may not simply be a matter of imitating western cultural values, but they may want to build up an international career. However, the choice of a western dress code may be a sign of imitation as it is unsuitable in the hot climate of Kerala. Drawing on these, I was originally keen to explore similar behaviours of the Adivasi community in both organisations beyond these issues of imitation and resistance. How does the Adivasi community form consciousness for both similar and different activities and experiences in both organisations? Photographic data prompted me to revisit these questions and further review Freire's notion of cultural invasion in connection with banking education and contemporary functions of caste (see Section 3.5.1.c; 6.2).

In the field, the participants or I may influence each other when discussing various issues, sharing knowledge or experiences. As Freire (2000) emphasizes, the oppressor uses banking education to impose dominant cultural values, which make the oppressed imitate certain activities. Similarly, a researcher may impose his/her own personal values or beliefs over the participants. Therefore, the participants may duplicate the views of the researcher instead of presenting a different opinion. Chapter Three shows how the participants and Ireached points of agreement and disagreement without merely imposing or imitating ideas each other.

2.3.3 Silence and dialogue

Freire (2000:88) writes of banking education that makes the students form relations of domination and submerges them into a culture of silence:

> Human existence cannot be silent, nor can it be nourished by false words, but only by true words, with which men and women transform the world. To exist, humanly, is to *name* the world, to change it.

Freire criticises the way in which culture of silence hinders people's struggle against dehumanisation and their ability to develop critical consciousness. In the same way, he reflects on how silence impedes dialogue and praxis. Freire further argues that dialogue is the encounter between people mediated by the world; dialogue does not happen between those who deny people from speaking and those who are denied to speak. Banking education typically follows these patterns of communication between the teacher and the students. In this dichotomy, the students are not expected to question the opinion or knowledge of their teachers. A Freire scholar, Bartlett (2005:353), writes of a critical incident of a teacher participant:

> In school, through high school, if I would say, 'Teacher, I didn't understand this,' she would get irritated, get hostile. And then your classmates would start making fun of you, because you didn't understand. And so the kid starts to think, 'Oh, I'm an idiot [literally, a donkey]. I'll never learn. I'm just going to stay quiet. I'm not going to question anymore.' That happened to me.

Drawing on Freire's notion of silence, domination and the teacher/student dichotomy, Bartlett (2005) argues that the classroom discourse prevents the students from speaking about their oppression. Moreover, silence is an obstacle for the students to become fully human. Therefore, the educators consider dialogue a method to overcome the speech shame of the students that is formed by silence. However, I had a different experience of silence and forming dialogue in the classroom seminar in 2002:

> The teacher entered the classroom and asked straight away, 'Are you ready?' *Silence* for a couple of seconds. Eventually one girl student stood up. The teacher nodded and smiled at her. She simply read her paper on time. Later on another girl came up, but after reading a bit she tried to present her paper in Malayalam. Suddenly, the teacher stared at her and she eventually stopped. After a moment of *silence*, the teacher continued: 'No Malayalam please.' We became *silent* again. The teacher said, 'It is fine for today, but not next time (Diary notes, classroom seminar, 23.12.2002)'.

Two major issues emerge from this episode: language was a barrier for me to express my thoughts as I too had prepared in 'Manglish'. I was silent to express my fear, shame and anger. Freire (2000) does not take for granted whether people communicate using silence or develop

critical consciousness in the realm of silence. Similarly, Bartlett does not criticise Freire's notion of silence. For example, the teacher and I communicated using gestures and facial expressions. Although I was verbally silent, I was still able to express my fear and anger. However, none of us verbally requested the teacher to use 'Manglish.' From our silent expressions, the teacher may have realised our struggle for communication. Somehow, she negotiated and let us communicate in Manglish for the time being. Similarly, dialogue may occur within silence, or silence may occur as part of dialogue. Freire explores silence and dialogue in banking and problem-posing education respectively. However, he does not point out the relationship between silence and dialogue: How can people communicate by forming dialogue by being silent? How can they develop critical consciousness in silence? (see Chapter Five)

Many scholars (Kohl, 1994; Kincheloe, 2005; Jaworski and Sachdev, 1998) explore silence without separating it from dialogue: silence is not simply a realm where the teacher does talk but the students do not. Kincheloe (2005) argues that the teachers are generally expected to talk more than the students, and the students are more likely to be silent than the teacher. Sometimes teachers use silence to discipline their students. The students' silence, on the other hand, might show their resistance to oppressive relationships, their ignorance about the questions being asked or their speech shame in the classroom. For instance, Kohl (1994) identifies that students who belong to the marginalised community might be shy or less talkative when they sit together with their colleagues representing an elite community. Similarly, a white teacher would be less talkative towards a non-white student than a white student in classrooms. For Jaworski and Sachdev (1998), silence cannot be restricted to an absence of noise or absolute quietness of both parties. Most of these studies on silence have been conducted outside of the empirical context of India or Kerala. There is little research on the notion of silence regarding Kerala's context of oppression and marginalisation. This is particularly significant with regard to the non-formal gathering of people in Kerala. Linking these with my classroom experiences enables me to refine Freire's notion of silence, communication and dialogue: How do the leader and the members communicate, dialogue and use silence in meetings? How do they form consciousness or challenge their experience of marginalisation in silence? During the fieldwork, these questions are extended and I found the false binary between Freire's silence and dialogue. Chapter Five provides answers to the following questions: How do formal meetings create a realm of silence? How does a formal environment make people silent? How do the members use silence to marginalise the formal meetings? How do people remain silent as a means to resist oppression?

Although Freire's (2000) notion of silence is inadequate to explore the paradoxical nature of oppression, he was influential in making me take some precautions for the fieldwork: a banking researcher who conducts research *upon* people may nurture a field of *silence* in which they passively respond to his questions. Similarly, the participants or I may become silent in meetings; my presentation introduction of Freire in meetings might silence the participants. Taking into this account, Chapters Three and Four discuss how my field meetings produced silence and dialogue.

2.4 Lessons from review of literature

In Chapter One, I drew on Freire's (1994; 2000; 2005) concept of banking and problem-posing education. I also make use of theoretical concepts drawn from other scholars. These caused me to explore the tension between the theories. In addition, Freire keeps reminding me of things that I could have done differently with the people in my village to step back from my innate banking domination in the future. These confessions caused me to explore how banking education oppresses/marginalises people like me in Kerala. Although Freire pays little attention to go beyond these binary models of oppression and education, he inspires me to develop a problem-posing approach to research. Therefore, this project is an opportunity to learn from/with the participants. Freire talks about banking education in the formal education system. Nevertheless, I am keen to investigate how this mechanism operates outside formal schoolings in Kerala.

This learning experience educates me to position my research as follows: a banking researcher conducts his study *upon* the people but a problem-poser researcher conducts his study *with* the people. Research could be banking, problem-posing or both in the way that it is continuous and developing. Similarly, a researcher may develop both ways of being a banking-educator as well as a problem-posing educator. I am an ongoing researcher who learns with and from the participants by reading, writing and listening, and then refining my original writings. My research is neither researcher-centred nor participant-centred. Additionally, it is provisional, unfinished and continuous for greater development. Consequently, I imagine my research as education: I present my arguments in Chapters Three and Four, as I listen to lectures; I then reflect on it with my experience as I am expected to respond in class. For example, I raise questions and doubts, and look at them for further enquiry. Additionally, my 'dialogue' with Freire is not just a methodology to form dialogue with the participants, but also to engage with the whole literature itself. In other words, both my literature review and methodology are dialogical to form dialogue with the participants. In addition, my learning from this research is provisional. I continue to learn from theories and my critical incidents by reflecting back and forth. Therefore, the writing up of this thesis is also a continuous dialogue as I keep learning with the literature.

CHAPTER THREE

A DIALOGICAL METHODOLOGY FOR RESEARCHING OPPRESSION AND MARGINALISATION IN EDUCATION

Introduction

Chapter Two informed the possibilities of applying Freire's (1985; 1994; 1995; 1998a; 2000) educational thoughts into research. This Chapter develops my own dialogical methodology to present both the philosophical and empirical aspects of data collection and analysis. Freire's (2000) ideas of participation, dialogue and praxis formed the philosophical aspects of my dialogical methodology for data collection and analysis. The empirical aspects of my dialogical methodology for data collection and analysis were shaped by different qualitative techniques in dialogue with the partcipants as shown below.

Mixed methods (Thaler, 2015; Best, 2012; Patton, 2002), for data collection such as observation, participant observation, critical incidents, photographs, interviews and storytelling (see Sections 3.2; 3.3 and 3.5.1). Audio tapes, photographs, field notes were used interchangeably to transcribe participants' meetings, narratives and critical incidents (see Section 3.4). Comparative method was used for the purpose of thematic data analysis (Ryan and Bernard, 2004); and techniques of respondent validation (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007), voice-centred relational method (Brown *et al*, 1991), photo-elicitation (Collier; 1967; 1979) were used for validating, revising or extending my initial transcript and analysis (see Sections 3.4; 3.5). Before going through these details, this chapter introduces the significance of dialogical methodology to minimise the researcher/participants dichotomy.

- **Participatory vs dialogical methodology: relation between the researcher and the participants**

The identities including gender, caste or ethnicity, of both the researcher and participants may reinforce dichotomy and oppression. Smith (2009: xi) writes of the colonising impacts of research:

> I still hear statements at meetings and conferences across the world that echo the perception still held by many indigenous communities that research has been a process that exploits indigenous peoples, their culture, their knowledge and their resources.

Smith addresses the domesticating nature of research regarding the dichotomy between non-indigenous researchers and indigenous participants. Smith (2009:2) further writes that researchers consider their research as beneficial to the oppressed community with emancipatory goals. Importantly, she adds that indigenous communities are probably the most researched. Like Smith, Rege (2010) claims that scholars belonging to the marginalised started writing and talking back to

dominant scholars. Additionally, Smith argues that research might be a dirty word for the indigenous community. She makes all these claims particularly with regard to colonising research done by western scholars. Although she refers to differences within the indigenous community, she does not point out the false binary between 'foreign and national' and between 'indigenous and non-indigenous'. Besides, she does not fully address the extent to which indigenous researchers can similarly contribute to colonisation. This issue is relevant when considering pseudo development projects done by organisations within the country (see Chapters Five and Six). Moreover, the Adivasi community have been stratified, so the term indigenous becomes complex and difficult to define. The Adivasi community are considered as indigenous but they have migrated from different locations within the country: the Kuruma community migrated from Poothadi, some of the Paniyas are immigrants from Tamilnadu, and other Adivasi communities come from Karnataka (see Section 6.1). Smith (2009) mostly points us to the oppressive nature of research. Her ideas are incomplete to explore these issues at the local level. Moreover, she does not point out how participants could oppress or marginalise the researcher in return.

The dichotomy between indigenous and non-indigenous is understood in terms of the ethnic differences between the researcher and the participants. As Smith says, a non-indigenous researcher is more likely to oppress the indigenous community. I am not fully non-indigenous when working with some of the indigenous Adivasi communities in Southern Wayanad. Because, there is a similar dichotomy exists within Adivasi communities: they are ethnically or socially different from one another.

A similar difference can be seen between the different non-Adivasi communities in Kerala: The Vishwakarma community which I belonged to have five divisions and each of them is ethnically and socially different. Although, Kuruma community and myself are ethnically, culturally different, we are similar socially, economically or educationally. So, I exploited these commonalities: that would have been difficult if I had worked with another Adivasi community like a Paniya, Urali or Kattunaikka. Melanie Nind (2011:21) writes of participatory research to minimise the oppressive potentials due to these differences:

> You are a valued social actor and what we have to do in our research is enable you to be an active participant for us to hear your voice and gain your perspectives, access your world view, but more than that, to involve you in the various stages of the research process.

Nind talks about the essential features of participatory research. She argues that the participants are involved in various stages of fieldwork. However, it does not mean the participants' total

involvement or researchers' total withdrawal. Their participation is neither exclusive nor inclusive, but, a way of getting better information. However, limitations of this approach need to be seriously considered. In participatory research, a complete participation of people is easier said than realised. Their participation is limited within the field itself: the participants in my research were not fully involved in forming dialogue with literature, transcription and analysis and writing after the fieldwork (see Sections 3.2.1; 3.4.1). This is because they are not co-authors or co-researchers who aim to obtain a PhD. In such circumstances, my methodology is differentiated by the application of Freire's (1994; 2000; 2005) educational thoughts to research. Freire's ideas inspire me to follow a dialogical approach for working with the participants rather than a participatory approach.

Participatory research has emerged in order to deal with the limitations of conventional research methods. Gurukkal (2008) argues that there has not been a humanistic approach: researchers survey the empirical reality by using statistical techniques and present findings in numbers and figures (see Diagram One, p 18). Similarly, Bottomore (1975) argues that many scholars research marginalisation without experiences. As evident from Freire (2000), ideally, the researcher must plan his research in negotiation with the participants. In addition, s/he must have some experience of oppression if s/he wants to learn with the oppressed. Consequently, many scholars (Kiernan, 1999; Reason, 1994; Black-Hawkins, 2010) recommend participatory research to construct socially useful knowledge with people.

Bergold and Thomas (2012) and Flick (2009) argue that observation and interviews are the general tools used in participatory research. On the one hand, the researcher becomes a participant observer; on the other hand, people become participants as observers: that enables the researcher to learn *with* people but not to conduct a study *upon* them. These scholars only emphasize learning the stories of people but not the story of the researcher. Scholars (Alcoff, 1991 and 1992; Lincoln, 1995 and Fielding, 2004) have particularly explored dialogical research for speaking with people and co-constructing knowledge while rejecting the traditional models of 'speaking for' as well as 'speaking about' people. Alcoff (1992:23) writes of this: 'The problem with speaking for others exists in the structure of discursive practice, no matter its content, and therefore it is this structure itself that needs alteration'. Alcoff claims that speaking with others enables people to transform the existing discourses that marginalise people's lives, whereas speaking for others only ensures conformity to marginalising social practices.

All these scholars suggest that both 'speaking for' and 'speaking about' others have similar marginalising effects on the people who are researched. However, these scholars fail to address how the researcher's approach to 'speaking with others' in dialogic research can unintentionally fall into 'speaking for' or 'speaking about'. For example, speaking could sometimes be 'with the participants' but other times speaking could be 'for' the participants especially when the participants seem to marginalise themselves. The above scholars fail to address the limitations of dialogical research (see Section 4.3.2). Additionally, Fielding and Alcof argue that research becomes education for the researcher when speaking with others in dialogic research. Nevertheless, they do not extend these ideas much to address the analogy between education and research, for instance, how research could be educational as well as oppressive. In contrast to these scholars, I explore the co-existence between banking and problem-posing models in education and research in dialogue with Freire (see Chapter Four).

Hence, my research is innovative in that I try to stop myself from being a banking researcher. As Freire (1994) emphasizes, the researcher is an expert in his/her academic field, but the participants are not; s/he has to take up the role of a teacher as a way of sharing his/her academic knowledge with the participants by reflecting on their experiences (see Sections 2.2.2; 2.2.3). Freire's (2000) ideas taught me that dialogical methods allow both the researcher and the participants to share experiences, negotiate each other's views and form a mutual relationship. Although dialogical and participatory researches are complementary my methodology is dialogical more than participatory. My dialogical methodology is a shift from problem-posing education to problem-posing research, as shown in Table Two.

Table Two
From problem-posing education to problem-posing research

Problem-posing education	**Problem-posing research**
The teacher as problem-poser	The researcher as a problem-poser
The students in problem-posing education	The participants in problem-posing research

Drawing on Freire (1994; 2000; 2005), I consider this research as having parallels with problem-posing education, as shown in Table Two. The dialogue between the participants and me was two-fold and it was scheduled as follows. First, to introduce the themes that emerged from the literature to the participants as a problem-posing researcher in the initial meetings (see Table Five, p113); then to request members to reflect on their experiences in order to comment on these themes as the students in problem-posing education. Second, the participants and I intended to share our experiences and negotiate our views in one-to-one dialogues. We then intended to compare the outcomes of both dialogues in the evaluation meetings to revisit existing knowledge.

However, these processes never end up in a smooth dialogue as expected. Each section of this chapter elaborates on how my intended methodology was refined: Section 3.1 introduces some sampling procedures and my initial dialogues with potential participants. Section 3.2examines what a dialogical observation would look like. Section 3.3 elucidates what a dialogical interview would look like. Section 3.4 discusses my 'dialogical approach' to transcription of empirical data. Section 3.5 explains my method of thematic data analysis and justifications for mixed methods. Section 3.6 presents my lessons from methodology chapter. This chapter answers the following questions (Sub Aim One):

- How does problem-posing education provide a parallel with problem-posing research?
- What would a dialogical methodology look like?
- How is dialogical research different from participatory research?
- How did I revisit my intended dialogical methodology?
- What is the significance of mixed methods in data collection and thematic analysis?

3.1. Sampling procedures and initial dialogues with potential participants

This section discusses my pilot dialogues to find participants from Kudumbashree SHGs and community-based organisations for empirical investigation.

3.1.1 Focus of investigation and finding participants before and during the fieldwork

As I learned from Freire (2000), once I found the area for investigation I needed to ascertain preliminary information about the location and potential participants through secondary sources. I sought support from an expert, Thomas, currently living in England, who previously worked with the Adivasi community in Wayanad. He gave me relevant information about two panchayats in Southern Wayanad:

> I have friends who currently work there. I think that two panchayats in the Southern Wayanad have the highest numbers of Adivasi people living there. If you select Edakkal Panchayat in Southern Wayanad, my friends could help you with a lot. (Informal dialogue, 16.03.12)

Consequently, I decided to choose Southern Wayanad as the site. I then received consent from the leader of the neighbourhood group and the Adivasi community organisation (see Appendix Five). There are at least ten members in each neighbourhood group (Kudumbashree CDS, 2013). The President of the Edakkal Panchayat gave me information about Adivasi community organisations. The President who belongs to an Adivasi community said:

> There are many Adivasi community organisations such as Adivasi Gotra Mahasabha. In addition, each Adivasi community has its own organisations as well. We are also members of the Kudumbashree neighbourhood groups. However, we meet only occasionally. (Telephone conversation, 18.07.12)

While responding to the President's conversation, I briefly explained to her how the research would benefit her, her right to withdraw from research and my approach to deal with anonymity and privacy (see Section 4.6.1). She assured me of her support and gave me the contact details of potential participants. I then phoned the Chairperson of the Edakkal CDS who said:

> There are 10-15 members in a neighbourhood group. On an average, there are at least seven Adivasi members in a neighbourhood group. They are members of more than one organisation including the Kudumbashree neighbourhood group. (Telephone conversation, 18.07.12)

Nevertheless, these telephone conversations were not fully dialogic because although there were some initial concerns regarding consent but the chairperson did not disclose to me over the phone (see Sections 4.1.1; 4.2.2). As I was away from the field, my telephone conversation helped me to introduce myself, explain my fieldwork plan and arrange accommodation in Edakkal. In addition, I received relevant documents about the Kudumbashree neighbourhood groups and the Adivasi community organisations in Edakkal.

I initially focused on four participants from a neighbourhood group and another four from an Adivasi community organisation, constituting a total of eight based on purposive sampling: First, the participants may not have been willing to discuss every issue; they may have been less co-operative or wanted to withdraw. Second, it helped me to find a sufficient number of participants. My initial plan was to accept a group of volunteers from both organisations because I wanted to move away from the banking approach. Nevertheless, my initial focus on one Neighbourhood group and one Adivasi community organisation was later revisited based on the participants' informal proposals.

Altogether, I attended eighteen meetings and events (see Table thirty-seven, p322); three of them did not contribute significantly to this thesis, and hence they are excluded. I choose all the tiers of Kudumbashree as the focus of observational investigation, and members from two NHGs become participants. Furthermore, I choose both ADS and CDS meetings for observation as the data emerging from the NHG meetings were not sufficient to fully explore the nature of communication and dialogue (see Table Seven and Sections 3.2; 3.5.1.a)

Similarly, my focus on Adivasi community organisation was refined. I choose the Adivasi Co-operative society instead of the community organisation: because my initial focus was reduced to work with the Kuruma community alone; the Kuruma community did not have any meetings in 2013. Moreover, all formal participants are members of the co-operative society and they proposed my attendance in the meeting (05.10.13). Additionally, the partcipants formally or informally invited me to public events. I also had opportunity to observe some informal meetings. With these negotiations, I refined my original sampling dialogically. As Freire (2000) emphasizes, such negotiations occur when the researcher keeps his/her focus of research as open as possible. Therefore, these procedures indeed triggered relationships of trust and empathy between the participants and myself. Moreover, these informal procedures prevented the participants from becoming involved in a mechanical way thus minimising the possibilities of their participation acting oppressively, on themselves.

3.1.2 Process of finding both formal and informal participants

As Gubrium and Holstein (2002) state, sampling for an active interview is tentative and provisional: these features are much closer to Freire's (2000; 1998 a) problem-posing model. Freire (1998 a) shows us that education is on-going and continues to develop because knowledge is unfinished. For him, people come to see their world as transformative but not as a static reality. I then thought of doing a purposive sampling to keep the initial focus open. Jupp (2006) argues that purposive sampling helps the researcher to identify people who are more likely to respond; and s/he is free to find people using purposive sampling, however personal interests could bias his/her decision to find participants.

I started forming dialogue with a certain number of people; I had hoped to work with seven to ten members from one neighbourhood group and one Adivasi community organisation in Edakkal. As Gubrium and Holstein (2002) show, the researcher can include as many people as s/he wishes unless the final sample is too large. In short, sampling for finding people should not mean accepting everyone and giving them tasks in a haphazard manner. This may also endanger mutuality between the researcher and the participants. So, I worked with certain members to determine who might benefit from the study. This is why I chose a dialogical approach distinct from participatory research.

I decided to do purposive sampling in dialogue with the leaders of the Kudumbashree and Adivasi community in Edakkal. This sampling allowed some participants to withdraw, or more people to join this fieldwork; it also allowed me to incorporate a few informal participants who significantly provided the participants and myself with several research questions.

I focused on the Adivasi community, but there are non-Adivasi community members in certain neighbourhood groups. Similarly, there are only Adivasi community members in certain neighbourhood groups, but they belong to different communities: some Adivasi communities may form a majority in some organisations but not in others. There are some reasons for choosing formal participants from the Kuruma community: First, Karimpan and Renjini proposed Edakkal as the primary site of my fieldwork where Kuruma community forms a majority. Second, members from other Adivasi communities did not turn up to my initial meetings although they were invited. Third, Renjini initially identified some potential communication barriers between other Adivasi communities (for example, Paniya, Kattunaikka and Urali) and myself (see Section 4.1.2). I faced similar tensions before my fieldwork; when I phoned a staff member of a non-governmental organisation in Edakkal, she said:

> Syam, when you phone the President, you tell her that you chose Edakkal because it is the best Panchayat in Edakkal and all the neighbourhood groups are working well. It would be better if we get a neighbourhood group, which is located in her ward. You may get a lot of support from her and the Adivasi community she belongs to. So, make sure you use some flattery (Sasikala, Telephone conversation, 13.11.12)

She kept reminding me of this whenever I phoned her. She might have used this strategy in her fieldwork. Facundo (1984) argues that funding agencies want success stories and present facts in terms of achievements/failures. I could not take Sasikala's opinion at face value, so I gave her a neutral reply: 'we must discuss some other things together before planning this research.' Unfortunately, she was unavailable to assist me in the field. Like Sasikala, others provided me with similar methodological questions that I should follow or investigate (see Section 5.2). As Freire (2000) emphasizes, educators must stop themselves from being *problem*-solvers or making promises. So, I informed the participants my project aims to minimise any potential fears (see Appendix Four).

All these steps taught me to keep the field of research open and negotiate with the participants. I previously informed the participants that I wished to focus on one neighbourhood group and one Adivasi community organisation, although this was negotiable; these restrictions were due to time considerations as the fieldwork was scheduled to take place within two months. Therefore, the

sampling process in this research was also dialogical to a greater extent. However, it was also participatory to some extent in finding public events as focus of observation due to participants' informal involvement by inviting me to these events. Many negotiations occurred in the field with regard to my focus of investigation, site of fieldwork, finding participants, number of SHG meetings and events for empirical research (see Sections 1.3; 4.1.1).

Like all research, participant selection and research question development were the initial tasks in my fieldwork. My initial plan was to conduct two formal pilot meetings (one for the NHG and one for the Adivasi community) in the initial two days. On day one, four people from the NHG joined and two people from the Kuruma community joined on day two. However, two people from the NHG withdrew, two people from the Kuruma community joined on day three; and the chairperson of the CDS and two people from a different NHG of the same ADS joined a week after. There were nine formal participants in total including five women Kudumbashree members and four men (see Table Thirty-eight, p323): all these participants belong to the Kuruma community. In addition to these, fourteen people from a cross-section of the population became by informal participants (see Table Thirty-nine, p324).

3.2. Dialogical observation: revisiting the intended methodology

This section develops a dialogical observation: Section 3.2.1 introduces different types of observation. Section 3.2.2 explains the features of my 'intended' and 'actual' dialogical observation. Section 3.2.3 briefly introduces critical incidents as a means of reflective accounts and records of observational data. In general, this section answers three key questions (Sub-Aims One and Two):

- Why did I choose different forms of observation?
- How is dialogical observation different from participatory observation?
- How did I revisit my dialogical observation to minimise oppression, marginalisation and form relationships *with* the participants?

As evident from Freire (2000), banking educators maintain a culture of silence. Consequently, the students may be anxious, silent or restrain themselves from their normal behaviour. I remember a day when I was similarly silenced:

> There was an inspection in my school by the District Education Officer. So, the teacher made sure that everything was going well. We tidied up the classroom and cleaned the black board. Finally, we recollected some of the lectures over the week. However, the officer just took our attendance and left the classroom without having a conversation with us. I was so scared of the dominant gaze of the officer. (A day in my school, 1984)

Linking this incident with Freire educates me that researchers or participants can produce silence with their appearance or body language. As a result, my observation is original to evaluate the behaviour of the participants and mine dialogicallyin contrast to participatory observation. Freire (2000:139) writes of the importance of communication and dialogue to deal with silence and oppression:

> It is necessary for the oppressors to approach the people in order, via subjugation, to keep them passive. This approximation, however, does not involve *being with* the people, or require true communication.

Freire argues that oppressors use a banking model to silence the oppressed; these tactics ease the oppressor's attempt to prevent the oppressed from forming dialogue. Freire argues that man as a being exists in and with the world. In other words, we are not only in the world but also with the world in relationships with others. Freire suggests a participatory form of observation during the initial stage of fieldwork; participatory observation allows the researcher to identify the problems with the participants. As discussed before, ideally, my approach to observation was dialogical more than participatory. Before going through these details, I next present a rationale for choosing different methods of observation for data collection and analysis.

3.2.1.Why non-participant/participant and participatory observation?

Freire (2000:111-2) writes of the essential nature of observation at the initial stage:

> It is essential that the investigators observe the area under varying circumstances: labour in the fields, meetings of a local association (noting the behaviour of the participants, the language used, and the relations between the officers and the members), the role played by women and by young people, leisure hour, games and sports, conversations with people in their homes (noting examples of husband-wife and parent-child relationships). No activity must escape the attention of the investigators during the initial survey of the area.

Freire argues that researchers should conduct a comprehensive observation of the area where the study is primarily located. This sort of observation is largely used in ethnographic research: observation helps the researcher to get in-depth data; it helps him/her to record spontaneous occurrence of incidents. It is more likely to get people's 'true' perceptions about their everyday life; and rich information (Nurani, 2008).

Observation can be non-participant, participant; and both forms of observation can be participatory or non-participatory. In non-participant observation, researcher records the behaviour of people in meetings without being a participant. In participant observation, the researcher participates with events. When researchers plan the nature of their observation including what needs to be observed in dialogue with the participants, then the observation becomes participatory. In my supervisory meeting my supervisor (Charly Ryan, 2014) made a distinction between participant and participatory observation:

> Participant observation is where the observer takes part in the activity. In participatory observation we the people at the event have decided how we will observe what is happening. We are framing the type of observations, their purpose, uses and the analyses and interpretations of the observations. (Lecture notes, 12.11.14)

Ryan stated that he is a participant observer while taking part in lessons as an external examiner. Participant observation is slightly banking as the researcher observes and draws conclusions with his own criteria, whereas in participatory observation s/he negotiates these methods to decide the focus and nature of observation. However, researchers' observation should not be a simple monitoring of participants' behaviour. On the contrary, observation needs to be conducted to ensure reflective participation of people as Freire (2000:63) writes:

> Attempting to liberate the oppressed without their reflective participation in the act of liberation is to treat them as objects which must be saved from a burning building; it is to lead them into the populist pitfall and transform them into masses which can be manipulated.

Freire illustrates that problem-posing models cannot be implemented by the researcher or the participants alone; without reflection and participation the researcher can only treat his/her participants as mere objects. Boylorn (2013) also argues that the researcher must not treat people as mere objects. On the contrary, the researcher learns of their behaviour and events with them. They thus experience a positional shift from an observed to an observer. Angrosino (2007) argues that a researcher can work with multiple observers, since they hold different identifies including gender, age and ethnicity. This approach enables researchers to validate their findings with the participants (Flick, 2009). Individuals may lie or hide things if they are asked to explain questions during interviews. Observation triggers easy access to the field for the researcher to set his/her research aims, plan fieldwork and record on-going incidents. So, I used observation as a way of gathering relevant information about on-going forms of oppression and marginalisation.

However, Nurani (2008:446) writes that 'participants during the observation might present an ideal behaviour or tell the researcher what they think the researcher would like to hear.' In addition, observation could become threatening if the participants feel that I am spying on them. This is the major drawback of non-participant observation, as the participants may not realise what I research. As a result, the participants might feel they are alienated from this research. They may also demonstrate an ideal behaviour as I did on my school inspection day. Nurani (2008) argues that in participant observation, people are more likely to know what is happening; the researcher and the participants are involved together while researching events and behaviour. So, I conducted participant observation of public events to minimise these limitations based on the participants' informal proposals. Since the participants were informally involved in the process of finding public events for observation it was also less participatory. I observed formal meetings of the NHG being a non-participant as I was not allowed to participate in these meetings. Again, this was participatory to some extent: initially I decided to observe only meetings of one NHG, however, the participants informally proposed me to attend ADS/CDS meetings as well. Additionally, it was dialogical in general because my decision to include ADS/CDS meetings predominantly emerged due to the insufficient data emerging from both NHG meetings for investigating people's experience of education as learning and teaching (see Table Seven,p120).

3.2.2. Need for a 'dialogical' observation: revisiting the intended methodology

This section justifies and revisits my intended dialogical observation. The advocates (Nurani, 2008; Nind, 2011) of participatory methods rarely address how observation can be unavoidably less banking; additionally, they rarely consider observation as a method of evaluating the behaviour of both parties in the research itself. As Freire (1994; 2000) shows us, dialogue is a way of being with the other and becoming aware of dehumanisation. These ideas and the above episode of school inspection reminded me to minimise the oppressive potentials of observation. Freire (2000:108) writes of the significance of sharing ideas:

> I cannot think *for others* or *without others,* nor can others think *for me.* Even if the people's thinking is superstitious or naive, it is only as they rethink their assumptions in action that they can change.

Freire discusses dialogue as a way of co-constructing knowledge but not a way of consuming others' knowledge. In problem-posing education, the teacher does not exist without his/her students. Similarly, authentic knowledge will only emerge through on-going dialogues. In addition, this cannot be done by excluding one party or the other. I learned from Freire (2000) that I must not take advantage of the emotional dependence of people. Similarly, Cohen *et al.* (2000) argue that the researcher must not eliminate any behaviour even if it is less frequent or happened only once. It is equally important to research both the verbal and the non-verbal behaviour of a participant:

- Who else attends the events?
- When, where and for how long does it take place?
- How do they discuss their lives, organise their activities and routines, and make decisions on a regular basis?
- How do they follow ground rules?

However, Cohen *et al.* do not discuss much about how participants can be involved in observing researchers' behaviour. Scholars (Chambers, 2004; Gawler2005) discuss the importance of having participants evaluate the activities and behaviour of the moderator at the end of participatory evaluation workshops. In participatory observation, the researcher often observes the behaviour and events of the participants and then learns about their issues with them; participants are rarely encouraged to informally observe the behaviour of the researcher. The researcher simply transforms the role of the participants from the 'observed' to an 'observer' of their own behaviour or events but not that of both parties in fieldwork meetings. In such circumstances, the researcher or the participants are unable to evaluate how they avoid oppressing or marginalising

each other. Dialogical observation is a much more reflective way of learning about events with the participants, being with them and forming a relationship. Moreover, this kind of observation helps us to transform ourselves towards the process of humanisation and to develop critical consciousness. This is why I developed a comprehensive dialogical observation and evaluation. Considering the statement of Ryan (2014), my observation is also participatory. Applying these ideas into research, my intended dialogical methodology looked like as in Table Three.

Table Three
Dialogical observation

The researcher as observer/observed	The participants as observer/observed
The researcher observes the participants' behaviour and their meetings The researcher gathers critical incidents ,receives participants' comments and analyse his own behaviour as a subject and object	The participants respond to researcher's behaviour and his fieldwork.
The researcher presents the participants about what has been observed	The participants provide feedback to the researcher and present their observations
The researcher then revisits the observational analysis	The researcher and the participants then finalise the research questions and take necessary precautions for the fieldwork

I observed the meetings and evaluated behaviour of the participants and its impacts over myself; also, I observed my own fieldwork meetings, my behaviour and its impacts over the participants being a subject and object (see Section 4.1). Additionally, the participants were informally observed my behaviour, my approach to conduct fieldwork with Freirian tools: that established the distinction between dialogical observation and participatory observation. So, my dialogical observation in this research was twofold. Drawing on these ideas, I presented my focus of observation to the participants as in Table Three:

> In your official meetings, I wish to explore how the leaders and members execute their responsibilities and their contributions to education and oppression. You and I will also explore each other's behaviour in your events as well as in these field meetings. We will then meet again to share these learning experiences dialogically (Syam, Initial meetings, 23/24.09.13).

However, my dialogical observation did not end up smoothly as I intended. However, the participants did not respond to their roles. I learned from their silence that they were not interested in any explicit tasks. These experiences made me aware of how participatory observation could lead to oppression unintentionally. I researched relevant meetings and events with participants' informal proposals. Additionally, I wrote a reflective journal of my own

fieldwork behaviours based on relevant critical incidents from the eyes of the participants to minimise the oppressive potentials in participation (see Sections 4.1; 4.4.1).

My dialogical observation was not fully planned, nor was it fixed. On the contrary, it was continuous and negotiable in accordance with the participants' informal proposals. During the initial meeting (23.09.13), somebody came and handed over to me an invitation to attend a medical camp organised by the Vivekananda Mission (see Section 6.2). Likewise, Karimpan said to me, 'there is no meeting of the Kuruma community but there is a meeting of the Adivasi Co-operative society next month. It is an Adivasi community union for honey gatherers,' (One-to-one dialogue, 26.09.13); a week later, he gave me an invitation (see Figure Ten, p232). Additionally, he escorted me to the work site of the Kudumbashree members (see Figure Nine, p229). Another day (06.10.13), Sumesh phoned me, 'a member has given me an invitation (see Appendices seven and eight) for you. There is an event coming up this Sunday. You can attend if you are interested.' These narratives show that, in addition to the previously scheduled activities, the participants informally proposed me to observe these events and explore meetings as education and oppression (see,Tables Eight-to-Ten; Sixteen;and Chapter Five).

Freire (2000) emphasizes that it is the need of the oppressor to keep the oppressed in the realm of silence. He also argues that problem-posing researchers should position themselves as *being with others* not being *for others*. He taught me to avoid keeping the participants passive. This was difficult as many participants did not attend their events. I tried my best not to ensure the participants' attendance by force. For Freire (1998a; 2000), dialogue should not be a mechanical way of making people participate: it is a means to increase their awareness of their issues.

My observation of public events was more informal than the Kudumbashree meetings. Moreover, it did not always happen with their explicit participation. On the contrary, their participation was more or less informal in performing similar tasks. For example, only Karimpan attended the medical camp. He introduced many people to me, 'The co-ordinator is a *Pathiya*. Look at that couple, they are Paniyas. Most people who gathered here are Kurumars,' (Informal dialogue, 29.09.13). He volunteered this information for me spontaneously without being formally requested. This would not have happened if a participant was requested to perform such *tasks*. Originally, I asked if I could volunteer to observe meetings and events. Again, they *silently* declined my request but they did it informally during the event or afterwards. This shift from formal into informal observation also facilitated me to research the participants' informal

meetings. Again, Freire does not foresee how the student-participants oppress the teacher-researchers. On the contrary, I explored how this happened informally in my dialogical observation.

Being a problem-posing observer, I intended to look how Freire's theoretical models can be applied to understand members' experience of oppression and education while observing their verbal and non-verbal communication in neighbourhood groups and community organisations. However, this was also problematic because a formal discussion was limited in NHG or Adivasi Co-operative Society meetings. Second, I expected the participants to observe my behaviour in Kudumbashree SHG or Adivasi Co-operative Society meetings, the way I spoke to them and the knowledge or experience I shared in meetings.

However, these dialogical ways of observing each other were not a formal task; on the contrary, the participants informally evaluated my behaviour and appearance and criticised my dialogical methodology itself. I prepared some questions.What did the participants and I learn from each other? What did it bring to us? How did we negotiate and reflect on each other's views? (see Table Thirty-four, p 187)

In evaluation meetings, the participants were very flattering when responding to the questions. Although the participants did not criticise me explicitly in these occasions, they shared their thoughts on my fieldwork at bus stops or in coffee houses. Sumesh told me that I do not have to be punctual as most meetings are delayed. Kannan told me that time I spend in this fieldwork is not sufficient; Binumol told me that I should have some questionnaires for people to answer easier. Rajan criticised problem-posing model as it does not let students memorise things. Deepthi was also concerned of the problem-posing model because students are struggling to answer when questions are asked outside the syllabus (see Chapter Four).

3.2.3 Critical incidents: Best (2012) argues that critical incidents generate theoretical generalisations rather than empirical. Critical incidents are part of the observational data that enable the researcher to make important decisions (Tripp, 2012; Woods, 1993), choose a sample and reflectively analyse hidden issues. Many critical incidents in Freire's (2000) life in prison or exile shaped his writings (see Section 1.1). Similarly, some of my previous critical incidents shaped this thesis. I used many critical incidents, important for the participants and myself as records of empirical data drawn from observation, participant observation and my fieldwork reflections. I have identified major critical incidents to observe my behaviour reflectively being a subject and object (see Table Thirty-three, p163 in Section 4.1). With these reflective accounts, I refined my intended methodology, generated new research questions and conducted cross-validity checks across the empirical data following a mixed method approach (see Section 3.5.1).

3.3Different forms of interviews: revisiting the intended dialogical interviews

This section develops a dialogical approach to interviews drawing on Freire and related scholars. It also discusses how I revisited my intended method of interviews; the section then goes on to justify different forms of interviews (see Section 3.4.1): that answers the following questions (Sub Aims One and Two):

- How are dialogical interviews different from participatory interviews?
- How did I revisit my intended dialogical interviews?
- How and why did I use different forms of interviews?
- How could I form a relationship with the participants?

As evident from Freire (2000), the teacher as a problem-poser shares his/her own experiences to form relationships with the students. Bartlett (2005:352) draws on such an experience from a participant in a community education project:

> If you join them, become their equal through conversation and jokes, they start to confide in you and tell you their problems. And as teachers, sometimes we tell our problems to them … I love it when I'm conversing with students and they tell me, 'Today we didn't have anything to eat.' Would they have courage to tell the public school teacher this? They wouldn't! But they'll tell me, 'Today I didn't eat lunch. Today my husband beat me.'

Drawing on Freire, Bartlett points out the socialising aspects of teaching to encourage students' to reflect on their experiences. However, Bartlett has not fully explored the relation between education and research. Consequently, the communication between the researcher and the participants has to be addressed as being parallel with the communication between the teacher

and the students in problem-posing education. This is a major breakthrough in conventional banking research and interviews: in banking interviews, the interviewee is a respondent rather than a participant. Similarly, the literature review would only be a presentation of conclusions and the gaps between them; the writing would be filling such gaps rather than reflecting on the experiences of the writer as a way of forming critical dialogue with the literature as well as the research participants. However, Freire or Bartlett rarely emphasizes how the socialising aspects of teaching or fieldwork lead to oppression. So, I explored to what extent dialogical interviews stopped me from minimising oppression (see Section 4.3). In response to these issues, I explored the participants' informal role in revisiting the literature.

However, this must not be in the form of a monologue; on the contrary, we must share our experiences and negotiate our views in a dialogical way. Dialogue involves people in the process of learning and knowing each other. In other words, when the researcher forms a dialogue with the participants, s/he must realise both the individualistic and the social process of knowing each other (Freire and Macedo, 1995). For Freire, both action and reflection are mutually important in praxis. If reflection is ignored, the research becomes mere activism. This may endanger action and prevent people from transforming experiences into knowledge. Macedo (1995) criticises the fact that many researchers, including Freire scholars, do not link theory with practice. In contrast, they form mechanised forms of dialogue for solving people's problems. For example, they simply present reality in relation to achievements and failures. In such an approach, there is very little opportunity for the participants to reflect on their life or a theory that a researcher has framed for them. This is why I needed a dialogical methodology in the form of praxis, allowing us not only to share our experiences with each other, but also to share the knowledge from the literature and the experiences of similar marginalised people in Kerala (see Table Four).

As I learn from Freire, a problem-posing researcher must go beyond the questions with yes or no answers. Freire (1985; 1994; 2000; 2005) shows us that a banking researcher conducts his/her study *upon* the people, who become mere objects for investigation. The researcher must stop the goal of deposit-making, otherwise it further reinforces *narration* sickness .Bearing these ideas in mind, I tried to keep 'Yes' or 'No' questions to a minimum. The coming section discusses how these ideas matter in dialogical interviews. Rapley (2007:14) writes that interview should be conversational but interview should not be look like the following:

> One of those strangers–an interviewer–introduces the specific topic, then asks a question, the other speaker–an interviewee–gives something hearable as an answer to that specific question, the interviewer listens to the answer and then asks another question ... and so the pattern repeats itself until at some point the interviewer says 'thank you, that was really helpful /interesting/useful' and then they part company.

An interview is not merely a face-to-face conversation, since both the researcher and the participants mutually produce their experiences and past or future actions. For instance, they mutually bring their biographical and historical accounts (Fontana, 2002), and differentiate them with their own stories (Denzin, 2002; Collins, 1998). Denzin (2002) claims, accordingly, that the identities of the researcher and the participants disappear and they become storytellers. For a different way of conceptualisation, Collins (1998:7) writes that 'as the interviewer I am not, I cannot be, merely a passive observer in all this, even though it is primarily the interviewee's life, which is under scrutiny.'

Collins (1998) argues that an informal unstructured interview is not a repository of objective reality, but a mutually constructed and dynamic social event. Likewise, Rapley (2007) emphasizes that it is a form of mutual disclosure, not just being passive or demonstrating dominant gestures. As evident from Gawler (2005), testimonials and stories are major tools used in participatory interviews, which give a human perspective to explore insights in depth. The interviewer records these testimonials and stories and plays them back to the interviewees. This is not a dialogical way of evaluation, as this interview does not include the narratives of the researcher. My research did not make much difference- major limitation of dialogical interviews: although I tried to record the events involving participants and play the recordings back to them with the help of volunteers, the participants wanted me to do this. Therefore, my dialogical interviews fell into banking mode unavoidably as I recorded their events and stories on my own (see Section 4.3). This issue was related to the way participants oppressed/marginalised themselves despite receiving opportunities for dialogue and problem-posing education (see Section 5.4). In contrast to Nind (2011) and Boylorn *et al* (2007) I explored how participatory interviews/evaluation and could be unavoidably oppressive on similar occasions.

As Freire (2005) argues, there are no teachers or students in problem-posing education. Alternatively, both parties learn *from* and *with* others and co-construct knowledge in a dialogical way. Many scholars (Kiernan, 1999; Reason, 1994; Black-Hawkins, 2010) suggest participatory interviews for learning with people. As Bergold and Thomas (2012) argue, participatory interviews enable the researcher to get reliable information. Since people have first-hand knowledge of the

field, the researcher will have faster access to people. Moreover, they can perceive their own life better than a professional can.

Many scholars (Flick, 2009; Angrosino, 2007; Gawler, 2005) who write about participatory interviews exclusively emphasize participants' narratives but not the researcher's. In addition, they simply transform the issues emerged from the literature into research questions rather than sharing the theoretical themes with the participants. Freire's works taught me to evolve a dialogical way of forming dialogue with the participants, rather than a participatory way. In response to these limitations, I developed a dialogical approach to extend the scope of my interviews as in Table Four.

Table Four
Dialogical interviews in problem-posing research

The interviewer shares his/her experiences or critical incidents and that of other similarly marginalised people	The interviewees respond to the interviewer and shares their own experiences or critical incidents
The interviewer shares his/her knowledge or present his initial analysis reflecting the themes from theories, empirical literature and empirical data	The interviewees respond to interviewer with their own knowledge or experiences and reach points of agreement or disagreement with the interviewer

As in the above Table, my interviews were dialogical, which is a shift from participatory interviews to share our experiences and knowledge as well as those of other marginalised people in Kerala. We also reflected on the key findings of the literature on marginalisation in Kerala (see Tables, Twelve, Thirteen, Twenty-two; Twenty-seven; Thirty-two). So, the participants and I shared our own experiences and knowledge with each other, minimising the possibilities of oppression. Additionally, I presented my initial analysis reflecting themes emerging from my observational and photographic data. The participants provided feedback with their experiences of knowledge and we reached points of agreement and disagreement with one another enabling us to revisit Freire. Being a problem-posing interviewer, I arranged a meeting with the participants with an open mind. In this meeting, I discussed the issues in research that emerge from the literature in connection with Freire's ideas of education. I also discussed the nature of one-to-one dialogues:

- How could we share our experiences of marginalisation?
- Why should we do this?
- How long should it last?
- How often could we meet?
- How could we address any concerns during the dialogue?

I met each participant individually for a one-to-one dialogue to share the experiences and then a follow-up dialogue to listen to the audiotapes with the participants for validating my initial transcription of interviews (see Section 3.4). Finally, I invited all participants to evaluation meetings in order to discuss our shared experiences (see Appendix Three). However, none of these steps followed a formal sequence – there are issues in sharing experiences through dialogue: each one-to-dialogue was different; similarly, follow-up dialogues did not happen as I planned because participants had already analysed their stories in the first one-to-one meeting (see Section 4.5). In these interviews, the participants and I did not simply share or critical incidents. On the contrary, my interviews underwent significant modifications and took many forms for different purposes: including validation of transcription of meetings and narratives, and analysis of photographic data through 'respondent validation' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007) or 'photo-elicitation' (Collier, 1967; 1979-see Section 3.5.1.c).

A problem-posing researcher should not be a passive recipient of participants' stories. However, Freire's (1994; 2000; 2005) notion of teacher/student or oppressor/oppressed dichotomy is not an answer to deal with such issues. Consequently, linking these experiences with Freire helped me to evolve dialogical interviews. A dialogical approach is not merely a way of ensuring mutuality, but also a way of refining Freire's notion of the teacher/student dichotomy. Freire (1995:381) reminds us of the importance of dialogue in learning:

> Understanding dialogue as a process of learning and knowing establishes a previous requirement that always involves an epistemological curiosity about the very elements of the dialogue.

Drawing on Freire, Macedo (2000) argues that researchers who have adopted Freire's dialogical method in the United States fail to consider the above features of dialogue (see Section 2.2.1.b). They rarely link people's experiences as a way to generate critical thinking and reduce them to middle-class narcissism; they have transformed dialogue into an ordinary conversation. Participants, on the other hand, simply disclosed their personal grievances. The researchers were then entrusted to solve their grievances; in other words, they followed a problem-solving approach through dialogue as a conversation. Freire (1995) argues that this endangers the critical nature of dialogues. In banking research, the researcher considers dialogue as a static reality. It restricts people's curiosity to search for knowledge as an on-going process. With this approach, the researcher over-celebrates the marginalised life of people with an attempt to solve them. S/he should rather encourage the participants to define their marginalisation as a problem-posing educator.

On the other hand, Atkinson and Silverman (1997) argue that the uncritical celebration of personal experiences can make the researcher or the participant an authoritarian speaker of his/her own life. Both the researcher and the participants must critically share their experiences to understand the previously-hidden aspects of their lives and let the silenced to speak out. Gallagher (2011) points out that the educational researchers must follow this practice for illuminating critical imagination. Therefore, storytelling is useful for a problem-posing interviewer to make sure that s/he does not alienate the interviewees. However, the researcher can manipulate or convincingly present his/her own story (Rapley, 2010). These arguments make me aware that dialogue ceases to be a conversation if I simply encourage the participants to share their experiences.

Rapley (2010) argues that the researcher must have some kind of control: the interview should not be a mere conversation. Similarly, Flick (2009) reminds me to avoid researching any emerging issues beyond my focus. My dialogue with Freire (2000) taught me to challenge this banking model: neither the researcher nor the participants should control the interview or ignore any issues. There is no ideal way of forming dialogue. Despite having disadvantages, personal narratives are useful when they become 'critical incidents' (Tripp, 2012), for learning and criticising the theoretical and methodological insights. Furthermore, my critical incidents constantly reminded me of things that I could have done better in the past (see Section 1.3). I have tried my best to be honest with the presentation of memories, experiences or critical incidents. Of course, there may be errors as I write some of them out from memory and rely on my personal diary and previous fieldwork notes. Since participants did not respond much to some of these critical incidents, I did not push them further. Instead, I shared my experiences during the fieldwork enabling me to explore on-going oppression and co-construct innovative knowledge with the participants (see Chapters Five to Seven).

The above scholars only discuss common experiences of both parties but do not reflect on similar experiences and knowledge of others from the literature. Dialogical interviews are not merely a way of sharing the personal experiences of both the participants and the interviewer. This is why I needed to form praxis by united action and reflection with other marginalised people in Kerala. Consequently, the participants and I should have mutual roles, rather than one controlling or marginalising the other.

Drawing on the notion of praxis, I shared findings that emerged from my literature review chapter and narratives of similarly marginalised peers in Kerala with the participants. The participants then reflected back to Freire or related scholars despite not being comprehensive (see Tables Twenty-one, p143, Twenty-two, p144; Twenty-four, p147). Before this, I presented relevant themes that kept emerging from some of the empirical data including photographs to the participants for initial 'respondent validation' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007) and photo elicitation (Collier, 1967; 1979, see Section 3.5). Both respondent validation and photo-elicitation were repeated in evaluation meetings as a way of forming continuous dialogues with the participants because data analysis during interviews was not comprehensive. Again, it was problematic to share certain themes from the literature: the participants were silent when I posed the myth of Dashavathara to discuss Freire's notion of monologue. Similarly, some of the participants' stories were not related to mine and vice-versa. However, we became aware of such new experiences from each other's stories. Moreover, they brought to me similar myths relating to caste invasion and the ideas that I shared in previous meetings (see Tables Twenty, p 141; Twenty-one, p143; Section 6.1; Table Thirty-two, p155; Section 6.3). These experiences show how the communication between the participants and I educated each other and how our communication fell into narration sickness although we did not intend this. Therefore, research can be oppressive as well as educational for the researcher and the participants (see Table Eight, p124).

3.3.1 Justifying different forms of interviews

This section justifies my interviews that took different forms as the fieldwork progressed. My interviews on the one hand typically followed the elements of storytelling, conversational and unstructured. On the other hand, my interviews followed when recording certain critical incidents in meetings.

- **Storytelling**

Storytelling or sharing experiences (Carteret, 2008; Drake; 2010; Clough and Nutbrown, 2003) was a major part of my intended methodology. First, storytelling or sharing experiences helps the researcher to be an insider, reflective and form relationships with the participants (Bartlett, 2005). Second, this method helps the researcher to collect many data that cannot be explored through other methods. So, I used storytelling for many reasons: first, I used storytelling to critically engage with Freire's theoretical models in my literature review (see Chapter Two); second, I used

storytelling to explore common experiences with the participants (see Chapters Four to Six): that happened in the initial fieldwork meetings and evaluation meetings.

- **Conversational/unstructured interviews**

Conversational interviews (Rapley, 2007; Cohen *et al*, 2000) are useful to elicit people's realities. This type of interviews is also used interchangeably with unstructured interviews in which no particular questions or answers are predetermined. In interviews, the participants and I either refreshed our memories to tell stories or share critical incidents. I conducted conversational interviews with formal and informal participants; these interviews formed part of our normal daily conversations. I later shared these conversations with formal participants because those informal conversations triggered many new research questions or revisited my original set. My conversation with the bus conductor is an example of informal interview: he asked me whether I came to Edakkal for conversion; his comment did not significantly contribute to anything at this point but, became it relevant when Remya stated about conversion attempts of the Pentecost Mission. My conversation with a Paniya woman and a passenger on the street was another example of informal/conversational interviews. Similarly, I 'conducted' informal interviews with formal participants during my initial meetings (see Sections 4.1; 5.2; 5.3).

- **Interviews during participant observation**

As Patton (2002) argues, unstructured interviews are natural extension of participant observation. My conversations with Karimpan at the medical camp are examples of 'interviews as extended forms of participant observation' (see Sections 5.4). So, my dialogical interviews took place throughout the fieldwork; it was not a post-observation task as previously planned.

3.4 Dialogical approach to transcription: respondent validation and voice-centred relational method

This section discusses in detail how I transcribed meetings and participants' narratives dialogically although these processes become unavoidably mono-logical at times. Additionally, it discusses how I used field notes, audiotapes and photographs interchangeably to transcribe the empirical data (see Sections 3.4.1 and 3.4.2). It also describes how I verified my initial transcription through 'voice-centred relational method' (Brown *et al*, 1991; Byrne *et al*, 2009) and 'respondent validation' (Cohen *et al*, 2009; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Sapsford and Jupp, 1996) although I could not be comprehensive. In general, this section addresses the following questions (Sub Aim 2).

- How and why did I use field notes, photographs and audio devices interchangeably to record both the observational and interview data?
- How did I revise my intended methodology to minimise the oppressive potential of participants' involvement in transcription?
- How did my method of transcription become unavoidably mono-logical?

Freire (2000) emphasises the importance of observing participants' behaviour comprehensively under varying circumstances. The researcher should write a brief report and discuss this with participants as a team. This process is widely known as respondent validation in qualitative research as Sapsford and Jupp (1996:91) write:

> The researcher may discuss his/her observations with subjects, asking them whether they feel the observations are accurate and what their perceptions of a particular incident were. Alternatively, the researcher may ask participants to supply written documents of a particular instance or a period of behaviour.

Sapsford and Jupp point out that respondent validation is a process through which researchers compare their own observations with those of the participants. Participants can respond orally or in writing. Similarly, Cohen *et al* (2009) point out that respondent validation ensures the reliability of the data: the researcher goes back to the participants with his/her own field notes to refine his original transcription. As evident from Hammersley and Atkinson (2007), respondent validation opens up new horizons of knowledge because participants can provide different possible interpretations, and additional evidences, and thereby supplement researchers' analytical framework despite limitations of inaccuracy and time-consumption. These features of respondent validation reflect Freire's problem-posing model.

I used respondent validation for two purposes: first, to cross check my initial transcription and second, to analyse themes emerging from empirical findings in dialogue with the participants. Due to time limitations, data transcription through respondent validation was not comprehensive and participants' responses were limited. Similarly, data analysis with respondent validation could not be done individually due to time constraints; on the contrary, this was done in evaluation meetings in different stages (see Section 3.5.1). Additionally, voice-centred relational method became useful to identify who spoke or responded in meetings and events. 'Voice-centred relational method' as a method of transcript reading and listening was first developed within the psychological paradigm (Brown *et al*, 1991). The processes of transcription had the following phases.

First, I audio-recorded all meetings and events; I wrote major observational findings in my field diary. Additionally, some findings unexpectedly emerged during my observation, which did not form a part of my intended questions. These include icons, materials or objects present at various locations, and the dress code of people holding informal meetings (see Figures Seventeen-to-Twenty-two, pp259-270). Photographs enabled me to transcribe and provide evidence for these observational data and to discuss emerging findings with the participants. Section 3.5.1.c provides justifications for analysing observational or photographic data through 'photo elicitation' (Best, 2012; Collier, 1967 and 1979) and in dialogue with findings derived from other methods.Similarly, one-to-one dialogues with the participants were audio-recorded, and important points were added to my field diary.

Second, during follow-up dialogues, the participants and I listened to the taped voices to clarify ideas shared in meetings or participants' one-to-one dialogues or identify the voices of both formal and informal participants utilising the 'voice- centred relational method' (Brown *et al*, 1991; Byrne *et al,* 2009). However, these processes were not comprehensive as originally planned because most public events lasted more than two hours and voices were not clear enough. On such occasions, I used field notes along with photographs (see Figures Eight, Nine, Eleven to Fifteen; Twenty-three-Twenty-six in Chapters Five and Six) for my initial transcription of major observational data.

Third, I presented a rough draft to the participants in the remaining one-to-one dialogues and evaluation meetings utilising the method of respondent validation (Cohen *et al*, 2009; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Sapsford and Jupp, 1996). Some participants translated their informal discussions in Kuruma language in NHG meetings; some corrected the names of informal

participants. Additionally, they choose their pseudonyms. Apart from these, the participants' responses were minimal for practical reasons.

Fourth, I completed a full transcript of all meetings and interviews after the fieldwork, due to time-limitations, making this process unavoidably mono-logical. Additionally, it was simultaneously dialogical because I negotiated my intended method of transcription with the participants to consider their preferences when I performed such tasks. Otherwise, my attempts to transcribe data comprehensively with the participants would have further oppressed them. These struggles and negotiations are discussed in the next two sub-sections.

3.4.1 Transcription of meetings and events: Audio records, photographs and field notes

I learned from Freire (2000) that I must comprehensively observe the behaviour of participants and record what happens in detail; the transcripts include participants' syntax but not their incorrect pronunciations. To elaborate more, Herrera (1992:8 in Holliday, 2002) reminds of the importance of transcribing exactly what happened or the way someone behaved in an event:

> Almost before she finished her sentence, another student approached the desk, leaned forward placing her elbow at the edge of it, and with cast-down eyes began to speak.

Herrera reminds us that a researcher should not use judgemental terms like 'cast-down eyes.' Instead, s/he should record exactly what s/he sees or hears using a neutral language, because s/he does not know whether the person lowered his/her eyes out of respect or habit. Otherwise, the researcher may come up with misleading information. Therefore, it is important to consider such non-verbal expressions and then to explore why such behaviour emerges. Drawing on these observations by Herrera, my plan was to record all events using an audio recorder with the support of volunteers, then to listen to these audio tapes and reflect upon the forms of communication among the participants and between the participants and me. I intended to include participants' formal meetings as well as my fieldwork meetings.

In practice, I managed to record most meetings and events using a voice recorder, (a Sony ICPX240 4GB Dictaphone). While recording, I took some photos with permission from the CDS Chairperson and Adivasi community leader (see Appendix Five), and wrote major incidents in my diary. Some informal events were not audio-recorded as people were spread across wider spaces. I could not record or take photos of some of the critical incidents during my observation or participant observation because the people being observed were informal participants and there was no time to ask for permission. Field notes were useful to record important incidents on such

occasions (see Table Thirty-three, p163). Furthermore, I originally planned to conduct follow-up observations of meetings to revisit my original interpretations.

I transferred all voices recordings to my laptop in a folder called 'dialogical observation'. I listened to each tape in the evenings. The audio tapes of public events were not clear at all because, I was with the audience, so my voice recorder was not close enough to record them clearly and there were many echoes. So, I have not solely used the audio tapes for the transcription of public events. I rather used field notes and photographs for refreshing the participants' memories and mine.

Taking my lead from Brown *et al*, (1991) and Byrne *et al.* (2009), I requested the participants to listen to the audio recordings during follow-up one-to-one dialogues. However, most participants did not want to complete their tapes or were too busy; Sumesh and Binumol were the exceptions. I fast-forwarded or stopped the tapes when the participants requested. Consequently, most participants were informally involved in the process of transcription when they responded to my questions along with photographs in the final evaluation meetings (see Section 3.5.1.c). However, a few participants were formally involved in data transcription: Deepthi and Shobha translated their informal conversations in Kuruma language in the NHG meetings. Similarly, Karimpan translated for me some of the idioms that the Paniya woman used on the street when I presented my field notes (see p158). Similarly, Sumesh corrected some of the names of informal participants holding informal meetings in the shed (see Figure Fourteen, p238); and Remya did the same for the transcription of the visit to the Thozhilurappu work site (see Figure Nine, p229). All these processes led me to revise and correct my original transcripts. In such contexts, my transcription was both dialogical and mono-logical, especially during the post- fieldwork stage.

I prepared a rough transcription for the next interviews or evaluation meetings; because I wished to refer to what had happened or been shared previously but I did not have enough time to write a full report. My original transcription was therefore not comprehensive, but I listed important discussions in bullet points. I included photographs of relevant data with a brief note of mine underneath for the participants to reflect on further. Since critical incidents were short enough to describe, I had fully written transcriptions of them in a paragraph or two (see figures in Chapter Five and Six; Table Thirty-three, p163). I next transferred all photographs to my laptop. I inserted relevant photos in each rough transcript for further respondent validation in evaluation meetings to analyse major findings in connection with findings derived from other methods.

3.4.2. Transcription of interviews: Audio tapes and field notes

Freire (2000:111) writes of the way researchers should record their field experiences: 'they record the idiom of the people: their expressions, their vocabulary, and their syntax (not their incorrect pronunciation, but rather the way they construct their thought).' Drawing on a Brazilian novelist, Guimaraes Rosa, Freire (2000) argues that it is crucial to research how people construct their thoughts rather than recording their grammatical errors in dialogue. Similarly, Atkinson (1998) argues that it is a general rule to use standard spelling and omit any errors. For example, the participants might say 'goin' instead of 'going.' However, Palmer (1928) argues that the researcher may lose accurate and unique information or misinterpret a story if s/he corrects spelling or grammar. Warron and Karner (2005:152) suggest how to deal with these issues in transcription:

> It is important to transcribe everything that is said during the interviews, including your own questions and probes, because an interview is a speech event as well as a special type of social interaction—thus, the contextual entirety of the dialogue needs to be included.

Warron and Karner (2005) argue that issues that seem irrelevant in one stage may be relevant in another stage. Moreover, it is important to keep the respondents' voice. Otherwise, as Poland (1995) argues, a particular tone of their voices may be impoverished. On the other hand, Byrne *et al.* (2009) have used the voice-centred relational method for transcription. They encouraged people to listen attentively to the voice of their stories and interpret them. They worked in teams to correct errors and identify similarities or differences between their views in a participatory way.

Researchers, including Byrne *et al.* (2009) and Freire, only discuss recording the behaviour of the participants and not that of the researcher. Both the researcher and the participants may make grammatical errors while talking. If the researcher does not write his or her own words, s/he marginalises the participant by positioning him/herself as the ideal speaker and the participant as the opposite. Moreover, grammatical errors may be a sign of marginalisation, as participants may not have a command of an accepted language medium. I found voice-centred relational method (Brown *et al*, 1991; Byrne *et al.,* 2009) useful to clarify participants' voices and my initial interpretations in dialogue with the participants.

In contrast to Poland (1995), it is difficult to transcribe the emotional tone or body language of a participant's dialogue, even if I record everything including their grammatical errors. Some people

in Kerala maintain certain physical postures (see Figure Seven) or sounds, which are hard to explain in written or verbal forms unless the reader has seen or listened to these characteristics previously. A former employee of a local NGO in Wayanad revealed his critical conversation with some members of the Adivasi community in Edakkal:

> While talking to me, the person kept scratching his head with his fingers and speaking quietly. This is a way to show his humbleness and respect towards me as his ancestors used to show in the feudal era: the tenants lean their head forward and cover their mouth slightly with their hands while standing in front of the feudal lord out of respect. (Thomas, Pilot dialogue, 08.03.12)

Figure Seven
Physical posture of tenants of communication

Source: *Vidheyan* (1993) Directed by Adoor Gopalakrishnan. 112 mins Adoor productions, Video tape. Available from: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UOzn909mkow [Accessed on 26.12.14]

Figure Seven is a still from the Malayalam movie *Vidheyan* (The Servile)[5]. The man covers his mouth and walks behind his landlord out of respect. In the feudal era, the marginalised

[5]The movie portrays the feudal-tenant relationships in a traditional village in south India. However, many scholars (Kumar, 2013; Rajukkuttan, 2013; Sebastian, 2013) are concerned about the way of representing the marginalised as many of them today have abandoned such body languages to a certain extent. A famous filmmaker (Kumar, 2013: p n.k) similarly criticises how the submissive body language of a marginalised woman is represented in the film *Celluloid* (2013): Considering the physical environment, the geographical environment, and the working class atmosphere in which this Dalit woman lived there is no way she would have been this submissive. That is my personal inference. If this cinematic text had produced by a Dalit—a male or female—her representation would be different.

Similarly, Rajukkuttan (2013) argues that the film *Ponthanmada*(1994) represents the hero as a tenant showing submissive body language throughout the story; the director, TV Chandran, may have an intention that a tenant or 'Dalit' has to show similar gestures throughout the film. However, a detailed investigation of the video/photo graphic representations of the marginalised is outside the scope of my research. As discussed in Section 1.2, I use such images for representing oppression and marginalisation in Kerala for clarification of ideas for the non-native readers of this text.

communities in Kerala were expected to respect their feudal lord or the upper caste (see Figure Seven); and the tone of voice of the marginalised person was considered degraded. In Kerala, fishermen, yacht drivers and farmers shout to pass a message when performing their daily jobs. This may make them talk louder in ordinary conversations, which is not an *ideal* way of communication for the upper caste people who position themselves as calm in similar circumstances. The above narrative shows that such a code of conduct may still influence our life at the implicit level. As Foucault (1980) shows us, discourse may not always be written or verbal to regulate the behaviour of a person; to punish him more effectively a shift in power relations occurs (see Appendix Two). Therefore, the body language and non-verbal expressions of a participant cannot be presented as such when transcribing their dialogue.

Consequently, I followed a dialogical approach for the transcription of our dialogue to evaluate each other's body language and such hidden forms of marginalisation in Kerala. As a problem-posing researcher, I tried to play the audio tapes of each dialogue for the participants to reflect on in follow-up dialogues following the voice-centred relational method (Brown *et al*; 1991; Byrne *et al,* 2009). My plan was to discuss what was to be amended, added or deleted further in detail.

Again, listening to the audio tapes with the participants was problematic. In follow up interviews, the participants and I listened to our taped voices, but this did not go quite as I expected. While listening to the tape, Shobha seemed excited, 'Oh, is it my voice, I never heard my voice before. Don't let my colleague hear what I just told you (One-to-one dialogue, 25.10.13)'. However, most participants were of the 'Oh. Go ahead we already discussed that' mind set. I later realised that they evaluated their stories even in the first session, so they did not want to listen to them again. My follow-up dialogue was unavoidably less banking for some people and some participants marginalised these follow-up dialogues. This knowledge facilitated me to arrange evaluation meetings to discuss our shared stories together. Those (Brown *et al*, 1991; Byron *et al.,* 2009) who recommend participatory methods rarely discuss how analysing stories with the participants can become unavoidably mono-logical. However, my reflections on the participants' informal dialogues from the initial meetings kept prompting me to negotiate my methodology continuously (see Section 4.1.6). My research was not an exception in avoiding oppressing people and being oppressed because my dialogical methodology was also less participatory. Nevertheless, these negotiations and the participants 'informal proposals made my dialogical methodology less oppressive than participatory.

None of the participants fully listened to their voices. So, I played the participants some of the important parts of their conversations to ensure clarity and avoid confusion. Therefore, listening to the audiotapes to transcribe and evaluate my findings with the participants was not comprehensive and thus unavoidably became mono-logical. The audio tapes of my one-to-one dialogues were clear enough for transcription. One-to-one dialogues typically lasted for an hour. I conducted one or two interviews on an average day, on top of attending some meetings and events. I started writing a brief transcription when I was not busy. I came back in the afternoon when participants were too busy or there were no meetings to attend. So, I spent more time on these days listening to and transcribing meetings and narratives. I had nine formal interviews to transcribe in total.

First, I listened to all audio tapes on my laptop; I then played them again to translate and write about them. I stopped in between phrases and sometimes in between words when I found sentences were much longer. I listened to some key words and phrases two or three times. I then translated straight away into my Word document. I did not delete any incomplete expressions of our speech, I rather put 'SIC' in brackets. I recorded all important non-verbal expressions of the participants and mine, such as laughs and smiles, in brackets.

I also used the voice-centred relational method (Brown *et al.,* 1991; Byrne *et al.*, 2009) for the preferred participants. Since some participants did not find the voice-centred relational method worthy at all, I had to step back: instead, I presented them a brief draft of their voices for respondent validation (Cohen *et al*, 2009; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Sapsford and Jupp, 1996) in evaluation meetings. I then presented the brief transcript of each interview before the participants in the final evaluation meetings to minimise some of the initial concerns: Sumesh told me that participants may be concerned about the way their narratives would be presented in this thesis. I told the participants that, 'I wrote this transcription after listening to the audio tapes for at least two times, first at home while transcribing each interview tape; and second during follow-up dialogues time (Syam, Evaluation meeting, 01.11.2013)'. The participants then chose their pseudonyms to be used in the thesis but Karimpan preferred to keep his real name. Karimpan said that pseudonyms would stop people from realising his hard work (see Section 4.6.1). Apart from this, the participants' responses to my transcription were minimal. I then replaced participants' real names with pseudo names. I did not use pseudonyms in the original transcription to avoid confusion; moreover, participants' real names appeared in my mind every time when I listened to their tapes.

I completed my interview transcriptions during my one week break times (16-23.10.13). Some transcripts (for example, Deepthi's) came to only 2000 words; others came to 3000 to 4000 words (for example, Rajan and Karimpan). Deepthi was too busy, and not available all the time, so I interviewed her only once. Rajan and Karimpan had many things to share, and they spent a lot of time with me on five different days. When I finished my fieldwork, interview transcriptions totalled to almost 28,000 words. Later, I added, deleted or refined some of the transcripts wherever applicable while referring back to my field notes and audio tapes. At the end, I had 37,000 words of interview transcripts in total. Since the participants were too busy or did not have time to go through the full transcription this process was unavoidably mono-logical. However, it was also dialogical to some extent as I negotiated my intended methods of transcription reflecting on each participant's interests.

3.5 Thematic data analysis: A way of forming dialogue and praxis

This section details thematic data analysis as a way of forming dialogue and praxis with the participants.Section 3.5.1 justifies mixed methods for data collection and analysis. Section 3.5.1.a discusses the process of cross-checking and validating data before analysing findings emerged through Ryan and Bernard's (2004) comparative method. Section 3.5.1.b further elaborates on these processes to explain how a particular theme emerged from data derived from mixed methods. Section 3.5.1.c continues to describe these processes to show how photographs were analysed in dialogue with other methods. Section 3.5.1.b and Section 3.5.1.c together explain how themes and findings emerged through comparative method (Ryan and Bernard, 2004), how these themes were analysed through respondent validation (Cohen *et al*, 2009; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Sapsford and Jupp, 1996) and finally how participants' themes formed a dialogue with Freire's themes.This section answers the following questions:

- How did I use Freire's themes to analyse participants' themes?
- How did the participants' themes form a dialogue with Freire's themes?
- How did I cross-check and validate data with a mixed method approach?
- How do I justify photo-elicitation as a way of posing problems to the participants?
- How did photographs dialogue with other methods?

I am trying to do a dissertation about the praxis of research while trying to avoid a separation between theory and practice. My data analysis was grounded in Ryan and Bernard's (2004) 'comparative method' or 'compare and contrast' in dialogue with the participants. Ryan and Bernard (2004) were inspired by Glazer and Strauss's (1967) 'constant comparative method' to generate themes from the qualitative data. I made a decision to engage with comparative method rather than grounded theory because I was working with themes emerging from Freire, empirical literature and the empirical data; conclusions were drawn out of the dialogue between these themes.

Freire (1978:24) writes that, 'The knowledge of earlier knowledge, gained by the learners as a result of analysing praxis in its social context opens to them the possibility of new knowledge.' Freire (2000) shows us that both theory and practice are equally important: if the researcher or the participants ignore theory for the sake of practice, the research becomes mere activism; if they ignore practice for the sake of theory, the research becomes mere verbalism. In other words, development of theory/knowledge increasingly arises when two domains of knowledge are in

dialogue with one another. There is scope for developing knowledge if there is incoherence between two domains of knowledge (Freire, 2000).

As evident from Atkinson (1998) and Reynolds (2011), theories can also generate from participants' stories. Many scholars (Stringer, 1996; Chambers, 2004) discuss participatory analysis of narratives. Nevertheless, they rarely give emphasis to the researcher's stories or the researcher's role in sharing theoretical themes with the participants. This is mono-logical, because they analyse only participants' themes in a participatory way rather than forming a dialogue with theoretical themes simultaneously. Consequently, this is not real praxis as the participants rarely get a chance to revisit existing knowledge to which only the researchers have access. The participants may be alienated from theories illustrating their life.

In contrast to these scholars, my thematic analysis, derived from Freire's problem-posing model, is a way of forming dialogue and praxis with the participants. Freire (2000) used a participatory method for analysing themes with sketches. Some themes may be meaningless in isolation but can be meaningful when they are linked to related themes (Leininger, 1985). Ultimately, the researcher makes comparison between themes and theoretical models. Drawing on these ideas, I organised evaluation meetings to conduct thematic analysis (see Table Five).

Table Five

Thematic analysis as forming praxis and dialogue

The researcher presents the themes emerging from theoretical and empirical literature	The participants respond to these themes with their experiences or knowledge
The researcher puts together the empirical findings in a conversation and present an initial analysis	The participants discuss these findings individually or in groups, and reach points of agreement or disagreement with the researcher
The researcher then identifies some themes with the participants	The participants then respond to the themes and provide feedback for the researcher to reconsider his initial analysis again

The above schedule was planned: first, to present themes emerging from theories and empirical literature to the participants and get their feedback. Second, to present large sets of empirical data drawn, present initial analysis for discussions in follow-up interviews or evaluation meetings. Third, to identify common themes with the participants, present to them, and get their feedback for further revision and analysis.

Being a problem-posing researcher, I requested that the participants discuss in groups and present their responses on paper. However, the participants refused to form formal groups or write their

responses (see Section 4.2), and they wanted me to identify themes. Consequently, the process of identifying themes was unavoidably monological while listening to the audiotapes and reading my field notes. Similarly, the process of discussing Freire's themes in dialogue with participants' themes was not comprehensive especially during follow-up interviews due to time considerations and participants' minimal responses. However, as the fieldwork progressed some participants brought back to me the themes of banking education, oppression with their own related metaphors (see Table Twenty-nine, p152). This was a continuous process as it was not limited to final evaluation meetings. On the contrary, I tried to introduce key findings of Freire or related scholars in initial meetings, interviews and follow-up interviews. Ryan and Bernard (2004:40) state that themes emerge in different forms:

> A priori themes come from the characteristics of the phenomenon being studied; from already agreed on professional definitions found in literature reviews; from local, common sense constructs; and from researchers' values, theoretical orientations, and personal experiences(2004:40).

Ryan and Bernard (2004) argue that themes emerging from theories or empirical literature are generally known as *a priori* themes. Additionally, identification of themes from the empirical data and then linking such themes into theoretical models are important processes in thematic data analysis. *A priori* themes that have been mostly dentified from Freire are shown in Table Six.

Table Six

Freire's themes as binary oppositions

Banking education	**Problem-posing education**
Oppression	Liberation
Repetition/Prescription	Innovation/Choice
Teacher/student dichotomy Teacher as oppressor and student as oppressed The teacher deposits and the students receive knowledge passively	Mutuality Teacher as co-learner with the students On-going learning between both parties Knowledge as unfinished
Myth/Monologue/Narration sickness	Communication and praxis
Pre-set curriculum	Free learning
Silence	Dialogue
Dual consciousness	Critical consciousness
Patronization/cultural invasion /alienation	Empathy/solidarity

As summarised in Chapter Two, the main themes emerged from my dialogue with Freire are 'banking education as oppression' and 'problem-posing education as liberation'. Freire discusses these themes as binary oppositions. Additionally, themes including 'caste as stratification', 'caste as myth', 'caste as discrimination' and 'Kudumbashree as empowerment' emerged from the empirical literature.

In particular, I employed a 'comparative method' (Ryan and Bernard, 2004) to discover themes from empirical data. I made use of the aforementioned Freirian themes to frame my initial data analysis (see Table Six). I introduced these themes to the participants during initial meetings, interviews and evaluation meetings. I also identified common findings from the observation/participant observation of meetings and events in connection with Freire's themes. These findings caused me to understand how Freire's banking and problem-posing models together shape the meeting discussions, and the way meetings are conducted (see Tables Nine, p126;Ten, p127). I then presented this analysis to the participants for respondent validation (Cohen *et al*, 2009; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Sapsford and Jupp, 1996) and revealed its limitations in this context.

On the other hand, I looked at how the participants' themes formed a dialogue with Freire's themes in the form of praxis. I was thus able to reengage with the initial analysis to, once again, make it richer and deeper (see Tables Ten to Twenty-five). I did not merely intend to discover and analyse themes in a mono-logical way. In other words, both sets of themes were presented to the participants to revise, extend or generate knowledge and thus reach conclusions in the form of praxis.

Ryan and Bernard (2004) argue that themes represent abstract expressions in texts, images, sounds or materials. Looking for repetitions, similarities and differences across different sets of data is the major step in thematic analysis. For Ryan and Bernard (2004), the researcher looks at a statement or a group of statements from the same informant or different informants and finds out: 'What is this sentence about? And how is it similar to or different from the preceding or following statements?' The abstract similarities and differences that this question generates are themes. If a particular theme is present in both expressions, then the next question to ask is: 'Is there any difference, in degree or kind, in which the theme is articulated in both of the expressions?' Linking these ideas with a mixed method approach enabled me to obtain, compare and contrast (Ryan and Bernard, 2004), a large set of data. Additionally, in this study, themes did not simply emerge from observational or interview data in isolation, but from a combination of data derived from different methods in dialogue.

Sandelowski (1995) and Ryan and Bernard (2004) state that data analysis and identification of themes begins with transcription of audio tapes and proof reading. First, I observed NHG meetings, public events and informal meetings. I listened to the audiotapes of meetings and interviews, and referred to my field notes (including my reflective journal) and relevant photographs. Working with Ryan and Bernard (2004)'s comparative method, I put together relevant findings derived from each method, then looked for similarities and differences across data in order to cross-check and validate findings and find themes. Six themes emerged out of this comparison between findings: 1. Meetings as imposed; 2. Community work as marginalised; 3. Formal meetings as causing speech shame and communication struggle; 4. Local stories of conquest as incoherent and marginalised; 5. Community work as marginalising development: Adivasi ways of lives as marginalised; 6.Events as marginalisation: marginalisation as marginalised discussions. I further presented these themes to the participants for respondent validation (Cohen *et al*, 2009; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Sapsford and Jupp, 1996 see Tables Seven to Thirty-two). The process of respondent validation was repeated three times enabling me to keep revisiting my analysis in an ongoing dialogue with the participants as shown below:

First, I conducted respondent validation to present my initial anlayis of observational data at the end of each formal meeting particularly to explore how Freire's themes shape the meeting discussions and the way such meetings are conducted. Additionally, more research questions emerged for further enquiry and discussion. However, this validation process was not comprehensive enough because participants belonged to different NHGs or ADS. I further compared these data with data drawn from other methods including interviews, storytelling and critical incidents. Most of them confirmed my initial analysis.

Second, I repeated this validation process during photo-elicitation or formal interviews with the participants. Third, I presented all findings drawn from mixed methods and emerging themes for further validation and cross-checking in the final evaluation meetings (29.10.13; 30.10.13; 02.01.13, see Sections 3.5.1.b; 3.5.1.c), in a PowerPoint presentation. Additionally, I elaborated each set of findings forming a theme in order to summarise the empirical data. I also presented the revised research questions for further discussions. The participants responded to individual themes with agreements or disagreements, and I shared relevant themes from the empirical literature or my reflective journal based on critical incidents. In responses to these discussions, further themes or sub-themes were added to the original set. After the fieldwork, I put these themes with *a priori* themes and compared with one another to identify similarities, differences or incoherence between both themes. In other words, participants' themes formed a dialogue *a*

priori themes and vice-versa (see Tables Eleven to Thirty-two); however, this process was unavoidably monological after fieldwork.

3.5.1 Justifying mixed methods for data collection and analysis: Different methods and data are in dialogue with one another

This section justifies mixed method approach for data collection and analysis. In particular, it describes how and why different methods (critical incidents, photographs, observation, participant observation, storytelling and interviews) have been used in combination for comparing, cross-checking and forming dialogue between different findings before identifying and analysing themes with the participants. The mixed method approach has been widely used in ethnographic and anthropological research and plays a crucial role in cross-checking and comparing data. Aronson (1995) presents a pragmatic view of thematic analysis that follows data collection, transcription and identification of themes after cross-validity checks. For Best (2012), this method is usually understood as a combination of both quantitative and qualitative research methods. Patton (2002:248) writes of the significance of mixed approach:

> Studies that use one method are more vulnerable to errors linked to that particular method (e.g,loaded interview questions, biased or untrue response) than studies that use multiple methods in which different types of data provide cross-data validity checks.

Patton considers mixed methods as a tool enabling researchers to revisit their earlier considerations. Mixed method approach deals with the weakness of one method by minimising errors or untrue responses (Yin, 2006). However, the literature de-emphasises how different qualitative methods can be mixed for the same reasons. Yin (2006) argues that mixed method does not necessarily have to combine both quantitative and qualitative data; there is also scope for mixing data within quantitative or qualitative approaches. Thaler (2015:8) writes that, 'When methods are integrated, the findings of one method are interspersed and in dialogue with the findings of another.' Thaler argues that mixed methods help the researcher to generate research questions, address a theoretical problem, and bring different aspects of the problem together in a comprehensive way.

There is a parallel between Freire's problem-posing education and the mixed methods approach when considering the above features. These ideas taught me that my dialogical methodology is unfinished, and the unfinishedness (Freire, 1998) of each method made me combine other methods in dialogue with one another. Moreover, this research primarily focussed on Freire's ideas of dialogue, participation and praxis. Mixed methods enrich the scope of dialogical

methodology, otherwise I would have ended up with a mono-logical or finished perspective of reality. Therefore, I used a mixed methods approach for three different reasons: first, to develop or revisit research questions based on data derived from one or two methods; second, to cross-check and validate findings; third, to get a richer perspective when one method generated insufficient or potentially invalid data(see Tables Thirty; Thirty-one). Examples of how my research benefited from mixed methods are now described.

Critical incidents of low attendance in the initial fieldwork meetings led me to add new research questions around why people marginalise meetings, and to what extent this is related to how meetings are imposed (see Table Eleven, p129). When I combined the data derived from interviews with participant observation of the medical camp, photographs of Bamboo Craft building and the icons inside, I cross-checked my findings and identified common themes reflecting how Adivasi ways of lives are marginalised (see Table Twenty-three, p145). Additionally, these data helped me to revisit Freire's concept of cultural invasion, which had not been a part of my intended research (see Table Twenty-five, p149).

On the one hand, photographs of many public events led me to invalidate the interview data: reflecting on the denial of the existence of untouchabilitythat could not be explored with interviews (see Tables Thirty, p 152; Thirty-one, p 154). On the other hand, photographic data and further photo-elicitation (Collier; 1967; 1979) processes helped me to identify and validate common themes of untouchability and unapproachability in meetings. When I compared (Ryan and Bernard, 2004) these data with participant observation of leaders' speech, I identified further differences. Although the leaders discussed caste oppression or marginalisation of the past, they were unable to see the similar forms of marginalisation right in front of them: that led me to explore how events discussing marginalisation themselves contribute to marginalisation, albeit paradoxically. The following sections discuss the process of cross-checking and validation between data sets drawn from mixed methods in order to identify themes.

3.5.1. a. Cross-checking, identifying and analysing themes

The process of cross-checking was done through comparison (Ryan and Bernard, 2004) of data derived from follow-up observations, subsequent participant observation of public events and informal meetings, photo-elicitation, my reflective journal, follow-up interviews and evaluation meetings. Follow-up observations and interviews are useful to cross-check data and identify common themes. Tacq (2007) emphasises that the researcher must observe the same event until s/he gets enough information, possibly opening areas of enquiry. Tacq does not mention that

frequent participation may reproduce oppression in already oppressive settings. Patton (1987) argues that researchers must explore potential contradictions that could invalidate their original findings; this is also a requirement of Freire's (2000) problem-posing models. For these purposes, follow-up interviews are recommended (Rapley, 2007; Cohen *et al*, 2000). Consequently, I conducted follow-up observations of NHG meetings. I did not conduct follow-up observations of ADS/CDS meetings because of incidence. Additionally, I observed many on-going informal public occurrences and meetings, including mine (see Tables Seven to Nine).

Table Seven

Meetings as banking/problem-posing education: Learning and teaching in formal and informal meetings

Methods	**Cross-checking findings through comparison**	**Comparison with banking education (*a priori*) themes**	**Cross-checking findings through comparison**	**Comparison with Problem-posing education (*a priori*) themes**
Observation of NHG meetings	Repetition of agenda and meeting minutes	Prescription	No separation of seats between leaders and members	Mutuality
	Meeting minutes did not include informal discussions	Narration sickness	Friendly conversation	Absence of domination
	Limited discussion about on-going issues		Informal conversations	Communication
	Speech shame of leaders and members	Silence		
Observation of ADS meeting	Repetition of agenda and meeting minutes	Prescription	Discussions about absence, compulsion to attend meetings, and drinking habits	Reflection and dialogue
	Separation of seats between leader and members	Dichotomy		
	President's advice to members	Patronisation	Points of agreement and disagreement between the president and a member	Dialogue and resistance to dichotomy and domination
	President seemed to threaten that absentees in meetings would be fined	Domination/ oppression		
	The issues discovered from public events and informal meetings were absent	Narration sickness	President being helpless but considering members' concerns	Empathy
	Meetings details are unknown for the participants	Absence of communication		
Observation of CDS meeting	Repetition of agenda	Prescription	Debate and negotiations	Reflection and dialogue
	Meeting minutes having the same format as NHG			
	Separation of seats between leaders and members	Dichotomy		
	No discussion about the issues I discovered from public events and informal meetings	Narration sickness		
Observation of Adivasi Co-operative Society meeting	Absence of discussion about on-going forms of oppression and marginalisation	Narration sickness	Discussion about older forms of oppression	Communication
	Members' withdrawal from discussions	Silence	Opportunities for discussion and negotiation	Dialogue
			Opportunities for refining the agenda	
	Only leaders talk	Leader monologue	Friendly working environment and members having fun	Mutuality
Observation of Thozhilurappu work site	--	(Absence of banking theme)	Discussion about using safety equipment	Communication
			No signs of control	Absence of domination
Participant observation of Public events	Only leaders talk	Leader monologue	Reflecting on older forms of oppression	Communication
	Justifying the growth of SHGs	Myth/narration sickness	Announcement of projects in participation with the Adivasi community	Dialogue
	Leaders discuss older forms of marginalisation		Leaders' inability to see that events themselves lead to marginalisation	Narration sickness
Participant observation of SC/ST Awareness class	Dominant gestures and commanding behaviour of the judge who led the class	Silence	Talk about social discrimination and inequality	Partial reflection

As evident from Table Seven, I cross-checked (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007) my findings derived from observation and participant observation of meetings and events that took place formally or informally in various locations in Southern Wayanad. Utilising the methods of Ryan and Bernard (2004), I compared the findings drawn from the observation of meetingswith one another; and in addition with each *a priori* theme reflecting Freire's banking and problem-posing education. I thus identified similarities or differences between participants' themes and Freire's. As evident from Table Six, Freire discusses a dichotomy between banking and problem-posing education. In contrast to Freire, my initial analysis reveal that all these meetings and events together and in isolation simultaneously reflect both models of banking and problem-posing education regarding the leaders and members' behaviours and their discussions on various matters as discussed below. These findings were further extended or revised through respondent validation (Cohen *et al*, 2009; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Sapsford and Jupp, 1996) or photo-elicitation(Collier, 1969;1979) and in comparison (Ryan and Bernard, 2004) with findings emerged from other mixed methods (see Sections 3.5.1.b; 3.5.1.c).

I observed neighbourhood group meetings twice, intending to explore both leaders' and members' actions as teachers and students and their contributions to banking and problem-posing education respectively. During follow-up observation of the same NHG meetings, I received essentially the same findings. Each observation concluded with an initial presentation of data for respondent validation. Participants including Deepthi and Shobha said that 'this is how the NHG meetings appear; we will consider issues you have raised' (NHG meeting, 29.09.13). The participants confirmed my observations of their speech shame, absence of formal discussions and lack of records for informal discussions. They added that lack of experience makes them silent.

Taking my lead from Hammersley and Atkinson (2007), I compared these findings with my reflective journal and critical incidents for further cross-checking and validation (see Table Eight, p124). Most participants were unresponsive or seemed to be silent when I spoke. Both the participants and I were silencing and silenced at points during our discussions (see Sections 4.1.5; 4.3).

However, the observational findings were insufficient to explore the members' experience of education because no significant formal discussion happened in either meeting. Consequently, I conducted participant observation of public events, which illuminated many themes not otherwise available. This revealed the limitations of a single approach to validate findings (Best, 2012).

Similarly, findings regarding silence merely revealed leaders' and members' silence in formal NHG meetings. However, I received a richer perspective while mixing findings derived from observation, participant observation and interviews, and cross-checking these findings with critical incidents of 'being silencing and silenced' in my reflective journal (see Table Thirty-three, p163; sections 4.1.5; 4.3). Therefore, use of mixed methods helped me to address the unfinishedness of single method (Yin, 2006) and conduct cross- validity checks.

I compared (Ryan and Bernard, 2004) the observational data of Kudumbashree (NHG /ADS/CDS) and Adivasi Co-operative Society meetings with Freirian*a priori*themes. Consequently, common themes of 'silence' and'withdrawal from formal discussions' emerged.I presented this analysis to members at the end of meetings. In the Adivasi Co-operative Society meeting, one member said that people remain silent or withdraw from discussion due to fear of being insulted. In the CDS meeting, one member said, 'you have captured every moment of these meetings'; the others hardly commented apart from a pleasant smile (02.10.13). In the ADS meeting, the president responded: 'there are formal discussions in the ADS especially if there is something needs to be seriously discussed (01.10.13)'.

Drawing on Ryan and Bernard (2004), I compared these observations with one another and with Freire. First, I compared the observational data between the ADS/CDS and Adivasi Co-operative Society meetings. I found separation of seats for the leaders and members in common differently from both NHG meetings. This separation confirmed Freire's theme of dichotomy. A common finding of leaders' silence emerged in the Adivasi Co-operative Society and ADS meetings (where the leaders were members of other SHGs). Likewise, a common finding of 'negotiations' emerged from the ADS and CDS meetings. However, this data was absent in the Adivasi Co-operative Society and NHG meetings, along with signs of formal discussion or debate.

While comparing findings emerging within the observational data of the Adivasi Co-operative Society in isolation, I found some similarities and differences. There were opportunities for discussion or negotiations (displaying Freire's idea of problem-posing model) but the members chose to withdraw from these opportunities. Additionally, unlike in other meetings, I found that only leaders' talk, reflecting the Freirian theme of monologue. I similarly identified some themes emerging sporadically from these meetings in comparison with banking or problem-posing education (see Table Seven, p120).

Additionally, a theme of dialogue and resistance to dichotomy and domination emerged from the debate between the president and the NHG member in the ADS meeting. I compared these

themes with Freire, revealing his teacher/student dichotomy in exploring leader/member relationships. Freire considers the teacher/student dichotomy as a banking model that can be addressed by a problem-posing model. In contrast to Freire, the themes emerged from the ADS meeting reveal that members can resist domination or patronisation within the banking model, that both leaders and members may act as oppressors and oppressed, and their contributions to both banking and problem-posing education (see Section 5.2). This initial comparative analysis with other formal and informal events validated my initial understanding of meetings as banking and problem-posing education.

I further investigated the Freirian themes of banking and problem-posing education in my participant observation of public events. First, I compared observational data for three major public events with one another and with the Adivasi Co-operative Society meeting, drawing on Ryan and Bernard (2004). I found common findings including 'justifying SHG growth' and 'no reference to on-going forms of marginalisation', reflecting Freire's theme of 'banking education as narration sickness'. Reference to older forms of caste discrimination showed some kind of reflection, as in the problem-posing model. In this comparison, I identified these participants' themes as being inconsistent with Freire's themes. So, differently from Freire, I discovered that these meetings simultaneously contribute to narration sickness and communication beyond the false binaries (see Section 6.3).

I then looked at the Thozhilurappu work site and SC/ST awareness class in comparison with other public events, again drawing on Ryan and Bernard (2004). From this comparison, I noticed differences between the findings. I found a 'cordial work environment, 'absence of control', and 'discussions about health and safety' from the Thozhilurappu work site (see Section 5.4), showing Freire's concepts of mutuality, reflection or dialogue in connection with problem-posing education. The SC/ST awareness class demonstrated authoritative forms of communication without opportunities for discussion, reflecting Freire's themes of silence, monologue and oppression (see Section 5.5). However, the topic of awareness reflects on atrocities perpetrated against the marginalised castes, and there was reference to caste discrimination, although it was not fully comprehensive, showing some kind of reflection (see Table Seven, p120; Section 5.5). For further cross-checking/validation (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995), I compared the aforementioned themes with critical incidents from my reflective journal, as shown in Table Eight.

Table Eight

Cross-checking with observation of fieldwork meetings: Education as learning and teaching between the researcher and participants

Observation of the researcher's behaviour in fieldwork meetings	**Comparison withproblem-posing education (*a priori*)themes**	**Observation of participants'behaviour in fieldwork meetings**	**Comparison with banking education (*a priori*) themes**
	Communication		Silence and narration sickness
Introducing Freire's themes with participants' narratives		Surprised faces, yawning and blinking	
		Rajan spots technical issues in my upgrade material; Participants' critique of Freire	Being silenced
Unfamiliarity with Trench	Awareness of unfinishedness	Participants' unfamiliarity with Freirian concepts	Awareness of unfinishedness
		Participants bring the story of Paniya community, reflecting caste oppression and slavery	Teaching the researcher and fellow participants
Posing the shift in the nature of caste oppression drawing on Foucault's themes	Reflection and praxis	initial lack of verbal response	Silence
		Two participants later revisit Foucault with power as amoeba and people as chameleons	Co-production of knowledge and dialogue
The researcher revisits initial focus: from oppressive potential of meetings into the marginalising potentials of members, including self-oppression	Learning in constant dialogue	The participants revisit their initial views on untouchability while responding to photographs and similar episodes raised by fellow participants	From dual consciousness to critical consciousness

Table Eight illustrates how both banking and problem-posing models shaped our discussions, and how the participants and I interacted and formed dialogue reflecting education as learning and teaching between the researcher and the participants. Despite taking precautions to become a problem-poser, my speech still sometimes silenced the participants and formed narration sickness. However, the participants and I learned and taught each other with our knowledge or experiences. I educated the participants with Freire's and Foucault's (see Appendix Two) themes, and the participants criticised or revised these themes with their experiences and metaphors. In the same way, fieldwork meetings in general educated the participants and myself as way of

revisiting our earlier positions on topics including participants' self-oppressive potentials and tendency to marginalise meetings, in addition to the initial findings on the oppressive nature of meetings (see Sections 4.1 and 5.1).

All these findings were put together in connection with Freire's themes regarding banking and problem-posing education, drawing on Ryan and Bernard (2004): that contributed to the major theme 'meetings as education', which reveals that learning, teaching and interaction in meetings simultaneously reflects both banking and problem-posing education. After these initial follow-up observations, I joined these findings drawn from interviews, photographs and then cross-checked relevant data with critical incidents and my reflective journal. More themes emerged reflecting how meetings and community works are conducted in banking and problem-posing ways (see Table Nine, p126).

Table Nine

Meetings as education: Approaches to conduct meetings and community work

<table>
<tr><th>Mixed methods</th><th>Themes emerged through comparison between findings</th><th>Mixed methods</th><th>Themes emerged through comparison between findings</th></tr>
<tr><td>Observation of public events</td><td rowspan="6">Meetings as imposed</td><td>Interviews</td><td rowspan="6">SHGs and community work as development</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">participant observation of public events</td><td>Evaluation meetings</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4">Participant observation of public events</td></tr>
<tr><td>Interviews</td></tr>
<tr><td>Participant observation of SC/ST Solidarity Day</td></tr>
<tr><td>Critical incidents</td></tr>
<tr><td>Reflective journal</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Photographs of Bamboo Craft building</td><td rowspan="6">Adivasi ways of lives as marginalised</td><td>Image of invitation notice</td><td rowspan="13">Meetings as dialogue</td></tr>
<tr><td>Observation of Adivasi Co-operative Society meeting</td></tr>
<tr><td>Interviews</td></tr>
<tr><td>Critical incidents</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="12">Reflective journal</td></tr>
<tr><td>Participant observation of medical camp</td></tr>
<tr><td>Interviews</td></tr>
<tr><td>Evaluation meetings</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Photograph of ADS building</td><td rowspan="7">Community work as marginalising development</td></tr>
<tr><td>Photograph of pond</td></tr>
<tr><td>Interviews</td></tr>
<tr><td>Photographs of people</td></tr>
<tr><td>participant observation of informal meeting in the shed</td></tr>
<tr><td>Interviews</td></tr>
</table>

Table Nine illustrates how relevant themes emerged out of the comparison (Ryan and Bernard, 2004) between common findings derived from mixed methods, particularly for discussing how these themes together contributed a general theme of meetings as education regarding the way meetings and community work are conducted as discussed below. Most of these themes are further analysed separately in Sections 3.5.1.b and 3.5.1.c.

Drawing on Hammersley and Atkinson (2007), I cross-checked the theme-meetings as imposed- and its constituent findings) with my critical incidents of low attendance and my unavoidably forced attempts to ensure participation for my fieldwork (see Table Eleven; Sections 4.2 and 5.1). During interviews and evaluation meetings, I presented this analysis to the participants. Additionally, I presented *a priori* themes derived from empirical literature (John, 2009; Anand, 2011, see Table Thirteen, p132). The participants responded that SHGs and community work also contribute to benefits, which led me to discover the theme 'SHGs and community work as development' (see Tables Nine; Ten, pp126-7). Other major themes emerged out of the comparison (Ryan and Bernard, 2004) between findings were-Adivasi ways of lives as marginalised: community work as marginalising development (see Table Twenty-three, p145; Section 6.2) and meetings as dialogue.

The theme-meetings as dialogue -emerged through comparison (Ryan and Bernard, 2004) between findings emerged from observation of Adivasi Co-operative Society meeting, the image of the invitation notice and interviews. Similarly, my reflective journal of fieldwork meetings show Freirian themes of negotiation (see Table Eight, p124; Section 4.1), that helped me to cross-check and validate the theme-'meetings as dialogue'. Since the participants' responses were negligible to this theme, this could not be analysed or revised further through respondent validation.

Table Ten

Banking and problem-posing approach to conduct meetings

Comparison and dialogue between themes	
Participants' themes	**A priori themes (from Freire)**
Meetings as imposed	Knowledge as imposed
Adivasi ways of lives as marginalised	Banking education as oppression
Community work as marginalising development	
Community work as development	Problem-posing education as liberation
Meetings as dialogue	Problem-posing education as dialogue

As evident from Table Ten, comparison between (Ryan and Bernard, 2004) participants' themes and Freire's themes revealed some similarities. On the one hand, meetings and community work are imposed on to the target groups in banking ways as knowledge is imposed in banking education classrooms. In other words, I discovered that how community work themselves could implement banking methods (leading to oppression) or problem-posing methods (leading to liberation). Taking a general theme of 'meetings as education', this analysis address the ambiguity of the term education in the way meetings are conducted: first, education is a process of learning and teaching and the interaction between people in meetings; second, educationis an approach to conduct meetings and community work and its impact over the target groups (see Section 5.1). Again, the participants' responses were minimal when I presented these findings or Freire's themes at the end of each observation, interviews or evaluation meetings.

3.5.1.b Comparison , respondent validation and forming dialogue with *a priori* themes

This section extends the previous section and in addition elaborates on the methods of data analysis through comparative method, respondent validation and in dialogue with *a priori* themes. First, this section discusses in detail how each theme emerged from findings derived from mixed methods working with Ryan and Bernard (2004)'s comparative method. Second, it discusses how each theme was analysed utilising the method of respondent validation (Cohen *et al*, 2009; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Sapsford and Jupp, 1996), leading me to confirm or revise already identified themes and generate additional ones. During this process, I presented each theme and related questions for discussions; the participants then responded with points of agreement or disagreement. At the end, this section discusses how conclusions were arrived through comparison between participants' themes and*a priori* themes (Ryan and Bernard, 2004). All these three processes are repeatedly and presented mostly in every three set of tablesrespectively in both Sections 3.5.1.b and 3.5.1.c.

Table Eleven

Meetings as imposed

Mixed methods	**Findings emerged through comparative method**
Participant observation of events	Increased growth of SHGs high attendance
Critical incidents	
Reflective journal	
Interviews	Compulsion for attendance membership taking over responsibilities
Observation of ADS meeting	
Participant observation of Social Solidarity Day	
Observation of ADS meeting	Punishment for absentees

As shown in TableEleven, major findings derived from mixed methods are increased growth of SHGs and high attendance; compulsion to attend meetings or take on responsibilities and punishment for absentees. The theme of 'meetings as imposed' emerged from thesefindings through comparative method. I presented the theme-meetings as imposed and elaborated on its constituent findings while posing the following questions for respondent validation (see Table Twelve).

- How do you respond to the theme 'meetings as imposed'?
- To what extent are meetings and community work imposed regarding members' attendance, membership or mobilisation/invitation to events?
- Why people are compelled to attend meetings?
- Why there is high attendance in public events but low attendance in other meetings, including fieldwork meetings?

Table Twelve

Meetings as imposed: Analysing themes through respondent validation

Methods	Points of agreement	Points of disagreement
Interviews Evaluation meetings	• Competition among the SHGs • People are forced to attend meetings • People are forced to take on leadership responsibilities • People are hired to ensure attendance	• Meetings are not imposed • Meetings have to be imposed, otherwise people will not attend

As evident from Table Twelve, many points of agreement and disagreement emerged when the participants and I discussed the above questions in regard to the theme-meetings as imposed. The critical incidents of high and low attendance in my fieldwork meetings caused me to ask the participants informally- what made most people attend only the first meeting for finding participants (see Table Nine, p126; Section 4.1). This process revealed the advantage of a mixed approach, where data derived from critical incidents led me to frame informal interviews to get a richer perspective and thus conduct cross-validity checks (Patton, 2002).

The participants responded that people attend meetings when they are compelled to do so; otherwise, they do not because they are not interested. In addition, they confirmed that Kudumbashree women are hired for the events. The growth of SHGs is an increasing trend and there is competition among organisations to form SHGs; leaders and members of the Adivasi community have to join many SHGs, mobilise people to street processions and attend gramasabha keeping them busy.

During interviews, participants initially said that people became secretaries or co-ordinators without applying for the roles. Members are asked to take such roles if they are proactive in meetings. However, although all participants agreed that meetings are imposed, three participants added that meetings should be banking otherwise people would not come (see Sections 4.1, 5.2, and 5.3).

I found some incompatibility between the theme ‘meetings as imposed’ and the common themes emerged from the leaders’ talk in meetings and events. The leaders claim that they follow a reformist model with participatory natures. I asked the participants to discuss why there is such incompatibility between findings. The participants did not doubt the compelling nature of community work and SHG meetings, but they added that such initiatives contribute to social change and economic benefits (see Table Ten). Initially, I focussed more on the oppressive nature

of meetings and organisations (see Section 5.2), but participants including Sumesh, Rajan and Karimpan talked about the contributions of the organisations conducting the meetings confirming the *a priori* themes (John, 2009; Anand, 2011).

As evident from Table Seven (p110), themes of dichotomy, domination, patronisation and empathy simultaneously emerged from the president's speech in the ADS meeting. In order to cross-check, I compared (Ryan and Bernard, 2004), these themes with common themes emerging from my critical incident and storytelling data, and the narrative of Sreejith (2008) in a documentary.

My experience of getting support from acquaintances was a critical incident. They were trying to help me, but wanted me to choose certain topics for investigation or to find participants based on their preferences, without bothering too much about participants' preferences. My childhood experiences of getting compassion from and being told off by family members reflected these themes of patronisation, empathy and love. Sreejith (2008), a Dalit Activist, brings his experience that people pat a Dalit's shoulders to express their love being liberal, but that liberalism itself shows the parenting of feudalism.

When I presented this analysis to the participants in interviews and evaluation meetings, Binumol and Remya confirmed that the organisation they work for adopts a similar approach for implementing projects; the other participants did not respond. I responded that acting as patrons while showing compassion towards people is a new form of banking education. These themes combined with Freire enabled me to explore how problem-posing education can be used as a means of oppression, and formed a part of my thesis: Meetings as oppression and marginalisation of meetings: between patronisation and empathy (see Section 5.2). My findings underwent further revision when I compared the themes of 'meetings as imposed' with *a priori* themes (see Table Thirteen).

Table Thirteen

Banking and problem-posing approach: False binary between liberation and oppression

Comparison and dialogue between themes		
Participants' themes	**A priori themes (from empirical literature)**	**A priori themes (from Freire)**
SHGs and community work as development (to some extent)	Kudumbashree as empowerment Kudumbashree as increased space for women Kudumbashree as yet to break Kerala's power structure	Banking education as oppression Problem-posing education as liberation
SHGs and community work as marginalising development (to a greater extent) Meetings as imposed		Knowledge as imposed
SHGs as divided SHGs as competitive and prescriptive SHG Members as aware of marginalising development and impositions to some extent		The oppressed as divided imitators having dual consciousness

Themes supporting the findings derived from empirical literature emerged sporadically in interviews and evaluation meetings. Additionally, I found positional shifts among the Adivasi community that validated this analysis. On the other hand, participants' themes predominantly reveal that meetings contribute to oppression and marginalisation.

Taking my lead from Ryan and Bernard (2004), I combined all these themes and concluded that although SHGs and community work are predominantly oppressive they can also liberate. I compared participants' themes with Freire's (2000) themes of 'banking education as oppression' and 'problem-posing education as liberation'. In this dialogue with Freirian themes, I discovered the false binary between liberation and oppression and thus between banking and problem-posing education in relation to the way meetings are conducted and its impact over the target groups. Therefore, differently from Devika and Thampi (2007), I discovered that both empowerment and development are new forms of oppression because the oppressor is

compelled to create more spaces for the oppressed in their dual execution of oppression and liberation (see Section 5.3).

I compared participants' themes including 'SHGs as divided', 'SHGs as competitive and prescriptive' and 'SHG Members as aware of marginalising development' with Freire's themes of 'the oppressed as divided' and 'imitators having dual consciousness': that revealed the false binary between the oppressor and the oppressed. Freire discusses how the oppressed imitates the oppressor due to their dual consciousness. Conversely, I discovered how the oppressor forms a duality and imitates development goals to take control of the oppressive world. This is evident from the theme of growth of SHGs and competition among the organisations. The oppressors divide by themselves to take up the dual role of being an oppressor and a pseudo-revolutionary practitioner. Additionally, the members seem to develop critical consciousness despite experiencing meetings with banking natures.

I put the theme 'meetings as imposed' together with the Freirian themes of 'knowledge as imposed' and 'banking education as oppression'. In this dialogue, I again discovered differences. Freire talks about knowledge as imposed, but the theme of 'meetings as imposed' reveals that it is not only the knowledge but also platforms of knowledge, including non-formal education programmes, that can be imposed leading to oppression. Freire talks about banking education as oppression in regard to formal schooling, but the theme of 'meetings as imposed' reflects how out-of-school education can still be oppressive and marginal (see Section 5.1).

Table Fourteen

Community work as marginalised

Mixed methods	**Findings emerged through comparative method**
Observation	Withdrawal from health and safety
photograph of Thozhilurappu worksite	
Participant observation of informal meeting	
Storytelling	
	Withdrawal from: Opportunities formal discussions tasks meetings
Observation of Adivasi Co-operative Society	
Interviews	
participant observation of public events	
Observation of ADS meeting	
Critical incidents	
Reflective journal	

Drawing on Ryan and Bernard (2004), I compared the findings (see Table Fourteen) derived from observation and photographs of the Thozhilurappu work site, participant observation of informal meetings, and storytelling. I commonly discovered that people withdraw themselves from from health and safety meaures provied .

Next, I mixed the observational data of the NHG and Adivasi Co-operative Society meetings, resulting with a findingofwithdrawl from formal discussions. I further cross-checked this finding with my critical incidents and reflective journal (see Section 4.1.7). However, I identified some differences between the two: Differently from the NHG meetings, there were opportunities for refining the agendain the Adivasi Co-operative Society, reflecting Freire's reflection and negotiation, but people seemed to withdraw from this opportunity.

Finally, I put together findings drawn from observation, interviews and participant observation of public events. Consequently, low or negligible attendance was commonly identified. I cross-checked this finding with critical incidents and my reflective journal (see Section 4.1.4). Drawing on Ryan and Bernard (2004), I joined all the three individual findings including withdrawl from health and safety, withdrawal from formal discussions, and low or negligible attendance: that geneated a common theme of 'community work as marginalised'. I presented this themes and related findings for 'respondent validation' (Cohen *et al*, 2009; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Sapsford and Jupp, 1996) with the following questions.

- Why do people choose to withdraw from health and safety measures provided?
- Why do people withdraw from formal discussions and meetings despite having opportunities?

Table Fifteen
Community work as marginlised: Analysing themes through respondent validation

Methods	Points of agreement	Points of disagreement
Interviews	People are not interested in meetings A common habit of the Adivasi community People are lazy and do not talk advantage of opportunities	Practical difficulties to use safety equipment and moving them around People are not used to wear safety equipment but they are used to work under unsafe working conditions
Photo-elicitation		
Evaluation meetings		

As evident from Table Fifteen, the participants unequivocally agreed with my analysis and added that people are not interested in meetings and disinterest became a habit of the Adivasi community. They added that the members are more interested in benefits, but did not provide reasons why people marginalise meetings. However, during photo-elicitation (Collier, 1967; 1979) in interviews and evaluation meetings, the participants provided many reasons for their withdrawal from health and safety measures while confirming my analysis: laziness, practical difficulties, and unfamiliarity in using safety equipment (see Table Fourteen). In response to these, I stated that marginalised communities were once forced to work under very bad weather conditions having no safety or human rights at work. People could not cope with the new work environment. Similarly, marginalised communities were restricted from accessing formal methods of education. People do not discuss things formally because they have no such experience historically (see Sections 5.3 and 5.4).

A long history of oppression and marginalisation deposits some knowledge on people to further oppress them by not taking advantage of opportunities and thus forming their own banking education. These dialogues contributed to an additional theme of 'members depositing knowledge by themselves from their experiences' (see Section 5.4).

Table Sixteen

False binary between the leader-oppressor and the members-oppressed

Comparison and dialogue between themes	
Participants' themes	**A priori themes (from Freire)**
The leaders as depositors of meetings and community work	The teacher as oppressor and knowledge depositor
The members as depositing knowledge by themselves from their experiences The members as marginalising meetings and their opportunities	The students as the oppressed and passive recipients of deposits

Working with Ryan and Bernard (2004), I compared the participants' themes with Freire's themes, as illustrated in Table Sixteen. In contrast to Freire's themes, I identified that leaders deposit meetings and community work; similarly, members also self-deposit knowledge, forming their own banking education; and they are not passive recipients of leaders' deposits as they marginalise meetings. So, I identified the false binary between the leader-oppressor and the members-oppressed: on the one hand, meetings are imposed by the leaders in a banking way; on the other hand, members marginalise meetings (see Sections 4.1, 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4). However,

these combined data did not give me much information about why people marginalised meetings with problem-posing natures. So, I put together the following data derived from mixed methods, especially photographs.

Table Seventeen

Formal meetings as causing speech shame and communication struggle

Mixed methods	Findings emerged through comparison
Observation of NHG meetings photographs	Leaders' and members' speech shame in formal meetings
Storytelling	
Critical incidents	
Interviews	
Observation of NHG meetings	Informal discussions in meetings
Photographs of NHG and informal meetings	
Participant observation of informal meetings	
Photographs	
Critical incidents	Being silencing and silenced
Reflective journal	

Taking my lead from Ryan and Bernard (2004), I compared findings derived from observation, storytelling, critical incidents and interviews. I noticed speech shame for both leaders and members in formal meetings (see Table Seventeen). In order to cross-check and validate, I compared these findingswith my critical incidents of being silenced and silencing in formal meetings and my reflective journal (see Section 4.1.5). Similarly, a common finding of informal discussions emerged from formal NHG meetings and informal meetings in the shed. Two different themes emerged when I compared these findings: 'formal meeting as causing speech shame and communication struggles' and 'informal meetings as communication'. I presented this analysis in interviews and evaluation meetings with relevant photographs of both formal and informal meetings to discuss the following questions (see Table Eighteen).

- Why do people not talk in formal meetings?
- What stops us from initiating a conversation?
- Why do people tend to talk more in informal meetings?
- Do formal meetings marginalise people/do people marginalise the formal?

Table Eighteen

Speech shame and communication struggles: Analysing themes through respondent validation

Methods	Points of agreement	Points of disagreement
Interviews Photo-elicitation Evaluation meetings	• Lack of experience triggers silence • Formal meetings make people silent • Social and historical inheritance of silence	• Silence occurred in informal meetings too • People may break their silence in another meeting • The more they talk they more likely they are to be forced to take on responsibilities

As Table Eighteen shows, most participants repeated that they experience speech shame and communication struggles in formal meetingsmainlydue to lack of experience; the formal environment makes people silent. The participants and I reached a conclusion that our silence was due to lack of experience, the formal nature of meetings, and our social and historical inheritance of silence. However, we concluded that silence occurred in informal meetings too. The participants also shared some disagreements and brought up different perspectives. Sumesh and Kannan particularly said that people who are silent in meetings may bring the topic of discussions to other places, and that people may be silent as otherwise they would be compelled to do some tasks (see Section 5.5). I further stated to these participants that this is how the members form dialogue in silence differently from Freire. Differently from their fellow participants, Sumesh and Kannan informally engaged in the process of criticising or refining Freire's dichotomy between silence and dialogue as discussed below.

Table Nineteen

Formal meetings: False binary between silence and dialogue

Comparison and dialogue between themes	
Participants' themes	**A priori themes (from Freire)**
Formal meetings as causing speech shame and communication struggles	Banking education as silence
The members as forming dialogue informally and in silence	Problem-posing education as dialogue
The leader as silenced	The teacher-oppressor as silencing
The members as silenced	The students-oppressed as silenced

Utilising the comparative methods of Ryan and Bernard (2004), I linked participants' themes with Freire's, as shown in Table Nineteen. I found incoherence between both set of themes when considering leaders and members as teachers and students in meetings: both parties can be silent, no matter how oppressive or problem-posing the meetings are. Similarly, I discovered that members form silence in dialogue in a productive way and they can resist oppression in silence as discussed previously (see Tables Seven, p120; Eight, p124). This dialogue between participants' themes and Freire's themes explored the false binary between the leader-oppressor and the members-oppressed and similarly between silence and dialogue in meetings (see Sections 4.1 and 5.5).

3.5.1.c Analysing photographs in dialogue with other methods: comparison, respondent validation/photo-elicitation and forming dialogue with *a priori* themes

This section continues to describe the processes of comparing findings, identifying and analysing themes. In particular, the section describes how the photographic datawere compared with findings derived fromother methods for identifying common themes; how these findings and themes were analysed through photo-elicitation and respondent validation; and again, how themes emerging from these findings formed a dialogue with *a priori* themes.

Freire (2000) argues that a problem-posing educator poses themes as problems to the participants. Themes are representations of people's lived realities, and can be posed in the form of words, sketches or photographs. Freire (2000:118) writes of the significance of photographs to explore implicit reality that cannot be revealed through direct questions. Freire (2000) discusses Gabrial Mode's method of investigating people's drinking habits. Mode presented a picture of a drunkard walking on the street and three young men talking on the corner. In the evaluation process, Mode's participants discussed the drunkard while looking at the picture: they said that he was the only one who was productive, useful to this country, working for low wages and worrying about family: that disclosed indirectly their own drinking habits.Collier (1979:281), the inventor of 'photo elicitation'writes of its advantages:

> Picture interviews were flooded with encyclopaedic community information whereas in the exclusively verbal interviews, communication difficulties and memory blocks inhibited the flow of information.

For Collier (1967), photographs are a durable record of participants' culture and life. As Stanczak (2007) points out, in anthropology photography is a common method of data collection/analysis to explore people's cultural traits. Similarly, Best (2012:194) writes:

> The presence of the photographs makes it *easier* for respondents to reflect on their lives and identities because a photo can *show* aspects of identity, this is especially the case if participants' own photographs are used because such photos are often personal, reminding the respondent of the culturally distinct world that the researcher can then share.

Best argues that photo elicitation allows the researcher to know how the participants make sense of their world while responding to relevant photographs reflecting their day-to-day lives.Bignante (2010:2) writes of the nature of photo elicitation:

> Photo-elicitation, one of the most widely known and frequently used techniques, is based on the fairlysimple principle of using one or more images (photos but also videos, paintings or any other type of visual representation) in an interview and asking the informants to comment on them.

Bignante argues that photo-elicitation stimulates participants' ability to express their views; minimises communication barriers; triggers in-depth knowledge; and validates earlier findings. Photo-elicitation can be mixed with other methods to cross-check findings across the data, but since it is time-consuming it should be used only when it makes significant contributions.

As evident from scholars (Best, 2012; Bignante, 2010; Collier, 1967; Stanczak, 2007), photographs can be used for various purposes. In my fieldwork, first, I used sketches from the literature to elicit participants' memories and to introduce themes emerged from the empirical literature during initial meetings, interviews and evaluation meetings. Examples include icons of Dashavathara, a sketch of Mahabali, Vamana and incarnations of Lord Vishnu. Second, I used photographs of materials and icons to provide evidence for my observational data and critical incidents during the fieldwork. Third, I used these visual representations to cross-check findings drawn from other methods and respondent validation. In Chapter Five, most photographs (for example, ADS, NHG and Adivasi Co-operative Society meetings, Thozhilurappu work site, Social Solidarity Day, see Figures Eight-to-Eleven; pp212-233; Fifteen, p242) have become useful evidence of my observational data. In Chapter Six, photographs (for example, the Bamboo Craft building, the ADS building, the pond, and people holding informal meetings in the shed (see Figures Seventeen-to-Twenty-two, pp259-270) not only provided evidence but generated richer questions for empirical investigation and invalidated findings drawn from other methods. For example, photographs of public events showing gaps between people and partiality in serving food (see Figures Twenty-three to Twenty-six, p273; Table Thirty, p 152).

The processes of analysing photographs had many phases: First, I compared findings derived from photographs with other methods working with Ryan and Bernard (2004), identified similarities or differences between findings and then found common themes Second, I have presented each photograph for the participants to comment on during interviews in the form of photo elicitation(Collier, 1967;1979; Best, 2012). Third, I presented themes, constituent findings and relevant photographs together for respondent validation or photo elicitation in the final evaluation meetings. The participants and I reached points of agreement, disagreement; the participants revised their initial views; this shows how photographs formed a dialogue with findings derived from other methods. Fourth, utilising the methods of Ryan and Bernard (2004), I compared these themes with *a priori* themes to reach conclusions.

As evident from Freire (2000), visual representation became useful to collect and analyse data that could not be obtained through interviews. For example, during interviews participants

seemed to deny the existence of untouchability or unapproachability in their day-to-day lives, however, photographs of different public events and photo-elicitation (Collier, 1967; 1979) with the participants enabled me to invalidate this interview data. These photographs display gaps between seats used by the Adivasi and non-Adivasi community, and partiality in serving food. During respondent validation and photo-elicitation, the participants revisited their initial disagreementsin dialogue with fellow participants and myself (see Table Twenty-four, p147). These discrepancies in data emerging from participant observation in contrast to the photographic data revealed the limitations of a single method. When different methods were mixed, I could identify the similarities and differences across data: that shows how photographs formed a dialogue with other methods, and demonstrates the limitations of one or the other method. Applying mixed method approach, I show that differences between data, or related themes led me to revisit, extend or invalidate my initial analysis.

However, there were concerns around presenting some photos: Sumesh (30.10.13) asked me, 'Do you really want to use these pictures? One participant may not be happy because he is a member of that political party.' Sumesh suggested me to avoid the picture of a Hindu saint for discussion (see Figures Seventeen; Eighteen, p 259). However, Remya wanted to discuss them. I identified recurrent themes when I put together different photographic data in a conversation. Additionally, I used photographs to conduct cross- validity checks, and used photo-elicitation (Collier, 1967; 1979) to analyse themes with respondent validation (Cohen *et al*, 2009; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Sapsford and Jupp, 1996).

Table Twenty

Local stories of conquest as incoherent and marginalised

Mixed methods	**Findings emerged through comparative method**
Storytelling of Karimpan initial meetings	Seizure of land and defeat of local Adivasi Kings
Storytelling interviews	
Storytelling of Paniya community	
Sketch of Vamana and Mahabali	Mahabali as a kind servile devotee of Vamana
Mainstream story of Vamana and his devotee Mahabali	celebration of Onam
Storytelling of Sasikala, the leader of the Hindu Aikyavedi, about Mahabali	Mahabali as a cruel and greedy King
	celebration of Vamana Jayanthi
Interviews	Unfamiliarity with local stories of conquest
photo-elicitation	Difficulty to differentiate between stories

Karimpan's storytelling reflected on the upper-caste kings' attack over the local Adivasi kingdom. After listening to this story in the initial meeting, the CDS chairperson gave me a magazine reflecting a similar story of the Paniya community. This incident was critical as it led me to add further questions (Patton, 2002) for enquiry that did not form a part of my intended methodology. When I compared both stories working with Ryan and Bernard (2004), I identified common findings of 'seizure of land' and 'defeat of Adivasi Kings by the upper-caste kings or lords'. However, I also identified some differences when I compared the sketch of Mahabali and Vamana and the contents of the Paniya's story.

Comparing the sketch of Mahabali and Vamana in Vishnudas' article and the mainstream story (Praveen, 2011) behind Onam and Mahabali's symbolic visit to Kerala revealed a common theme of 'King Mahabali as a serville devotee of Vamana'. When I compared this theme with the theme emerged from the Paniya's story, I identified some differences: the mainstream story contained reference to Onam or Vamana, but the Paniyas' story did not. However, only the Paniya's story contained reference to slavery, caste or execution of land but the mainstream did not.These differences between themes enabled me to reach a conclusion- local stories as incoherent.

Similarly, I compared the findings derived from interviews and photographs: most participants were unfamiliar with the local stories, despite being familar with the sketch of Mahabali and Onam, and struggled to identify differences. Karimpan said that the stories he brought do not form a part of discussion in community meetings. These responses generated thetheme- 'local stories of conquest as marginalised'. I presented this theme and relevant findings for respondent validation (Cohen *et al*, 2009; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Sapsford and Jupp, 1996) and further photo-eliciation (Collier, 1967; 1979; Best, 2012).

- How do you respond to the sketch of Mahabali and Vamana and the content and what do they tell you?
- Why are there differences between contents of local stories of conquest?
- Why is the locally formed knowledge unknown to the participants?

Table Twenty-one

Local stories of conquest: Analysing photographic data and theme through respondent validation/photo elicitation

Methods	Points of agreement	Points of disagreement
Interviews Photo-elicitation interviews Evaluation meetings	• Stories revealing conquest • Naming of local lands by the invaders • Paniya's story is close to reality • Absence of written records made these stories unpopular • Political nature of text books • These stories educate about past experiences of slavery, wars and lost lands • Influence of Puranas	None

In order to cross-check the incoherence between stories, I played a YouTube video of a storytelling of Sasikala, a leader of the Hindu Aikyavedi, during respondent validation. Sasikala's speech reveals that Mahabali was an imperialist and cruel. Lord Vishnu incarnated as Vamana and declared war against Mahabali in reaction to his cruelty. So Onam should be celebrated as Vamana Jayanthi (birthday). Sasikala added that there is no historical evidence to support the existence of Mahabali's kingdom.

Again, during interviews, most participants struggled to identify differences, but they were familiar with stories similar to the mainstream story of Onam. However, Karimpan said that it is people who create stories by adding things that may be manipulated. Remya said that the Paniya story is more close to reality in comparison with other stories(see Table Twenty-one, p143).

Karimpan said that the influence of Puranas made people unfamiliar with such stories. He further added that the names of local areas were changed by the invaders: the names Meenangadi and Ganapathi Pattom symbolically reflect the icons of Vishnu and Ganapathi respectively; after TippuSulthan's attack, Sulthan Battery replaced Ganapathi pattom. Drawing on Freire, Sumesh added that banking education excludes such local stories from text books. These discussions revealed a theme- participants' awareness of such stories of invasion at local level. In response to these comments, I shared my findings that the Paniya's story shows their ability to refine established stories, their ability to be aware of their lived realities and thus develop critical consciousness despite receiving banking forms of knowledge, and the extent to which such local stories or myths can educate people differently from Freire. On the other hand, Sasikala's story depicts how the upper caste people refine their established stories to justify their history of conquest over the natives.

TableTwenty-two

Caste invasion and myth: False binary between banking and problem-posing education

Comparison and dialogue between themes	
Participants' themes	**A priori themes (from Freire)**
Local stories of conquest as incoherent and marginalised	Myth as monologue
The Paniya community as revisiting the mainstream story of Mahabali and Onam with their own knowledge	The oppressor as depositing knowledge or myth
Paniya's myth as educational and lived realities of caste and slavery	Banking education as preventing critical consciousness

As shown in Table Twenty-two, I put participants' themes with Freire's (1994; 2000; 2005) in comparison with one anotherworking with Ryan and Bernard (2004). This comparison contributed to understanding the false binary between banking and problem-posing education in relation to caste invasion and myth. According to Freire, banking education prevents critical consciousness. In contrast to this, the myth of the Paniya community is educational in addressing their lived realities of caste and slavery, reflecting their critical awareness. I thus discovered that myths can be used as a means for posing problems and can make people develop critical consciousness: that contributed to identifying the false binary between critical consciousness in problem-posing education and the absence of critical consciousness in banking education. Freire argues that the oppressor deposits their own knowledge or myth, and myth is monologue, but I discovered that the Paniya community forms its own myths to dialogue with established myths. This knowledge enabled me to address the limitations of Freire's concept of banking education and the false binary between monologue and dialogue (see Section 6.1).

Table Twenty-three

Community work as marginalising development: Adivasi ways of life as marginalised

Mixed methods	Findings emerged through comparative method
Photographs of outside the Bamboo Craft building	Abundance of upper-caste icons/practices
Photographs of inside the Bamboo Craft building	
Participant observation of the medical camp	Seizure of property and land in the name of welfare and secular activities
Interviews	
Storytelling	Shift in the nature of worship and festivals
Photographs of participants' houses	
Participant observation of informal meeting	Shift in the preference of dress code towards saffron
Photographs of people forming informal meetings in a shed	
Photograph of people at a wedding function	
Photographs of notice boards in the ADS building and at the pond, and informal interviews	Replacement of village names by colony

As evident from Table Twenty-three, photographs of the Bamboo Craft building(see Figures Seventeen; Eighteen, p259), people holding informal meetings, the ADS building and the pond provided me with richer data to explore the marginalising nature of community work and development. Drawing on Ryan and Bernard (2004), I compared three sets of photographic data, as shown in Table Twenty-three : photographs of the Bamboo Craft building, people in saffron and white dhoti, and the ADS building and the pond. First, I found *abundance of upper-caste icons* commonly emerged from the photographs of inside and outside the building. I cross-checked and

validated this finding in comparison with the photograph of the name board showing Bamboo Craft industry: Kerala state SC/ST department. During this validation process across photographic, interview and observational data following the mixed method approach (Patton, 2002), I identified another finding- 'seizure of property and ways of lives of the Adivasi community'.

When I observed the informal meeting in the shed, I noticed most people wore saffron dhoti. I took a photo and compared this with the photograph of the flex board of Lord Vivekananda, who also wore saffron, and with an old wedding album that one participant handed over to me, which showed Kuruma men in white dhoti. I found a shift in the preference of dress code from white to saffron colours while comparing these photographs (see Figures twenty-one; Twenty-two, p 270).

When I compared the photographs of the ADS building and the pond (see Figures Nineteen and twenty, p 266), I commonly found the term 'colony' in reference to Adivasi villages: that was cross-checked with interview data. While listening to the audio tapes, I noticed that both formal and informal participants used the term 'colony' interchangeably with Ooru or Thudi. Working with Collier (1967; 1979), I presented these photographs and findings during interviews. The participants said that each Adivasi community had been traditionally known as Ooru, Thudi, and Mantom. From this comparison, I noticed a shift towards the usage of 'colony' and disappearance of traditional Adivasi village names. Finally, when I compared the different categories of events listed in the flex board, I noticed that the Adivasi event is placed at the bottom. When I joined all these findings two related themes- 'Community work as marginalising development: Adivasi way of life as marginalised' emerged.I presented these themes and relevant findings for 'respondent validation' (Cohen *et al*, 2009; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Sapsford and Jupp, 1996) and 'photo elicitation' (Collier, 1967; 1979; Best, 2012).

- How do you respond to these photographs and my analysis regarding the aforementioned themes?
- Why is there abundance of caste icons in the Bamboo Craft building and what do they say to you?
- Why do Vivekananda Mission conduct events for the Adivasi community?
- Why is the Adivasi event listed on the bottom of the flex board?
- Why is there no name of the Adivasi residences such as Ooru, Thudi or Mantom on these boards?
- Why do people increasingly wear saffron?

Table Twenty-four
Community work as marginalising development: Analysing photographic data and theme through respondent validation/photo elicitation

Methods	Points of agreement	Points of disagreement
Interviews Photo-elicitation interviews meetings Photo-elicitation evaluation	• Exploitation in the name of upliftment • Bringing all stratified Hindus into one society to counter Christianity and Islam • Imposition of the upper-caste values in the name of secularism and culture • Shift in the nature of domination and marginalisation • Power as amoeba and people as chameleons • Adivasi spaces are being seized or taken over by Brahminical icons and Vivekananda Mission • The term colony is derogatory and marginalising • Preference towards Saffron is invasion and imitation	• Adivasi community withdraw from activities that make others take over their spaces • It is a welfare activity; it is secular and serves common interests • Although the term colony is derogatory, it helps the Adivasi community to avail of benefits • Preference towards Saffron is neither invasion nor imitation

During the process of respondent validation and photo elicitation (see Table Twenty-four, p 147), the participants said that building is built for the Bamboo Craft industry funded by the Government but that is used for the events run by the Vivekananda Mission, a Hindu organisation. I further shared my observational data of the medical camp: people take their shoes before entering the Bamboo Craft building. Karimpan repeated that this incident happened because there are icons of Gods and Goddesses, but, other participants hardly said anything. However, all participants confirmed that Adivasi ways of lives have been marginalised with events run by Vivekananda Mission in the name of development. Remya and Binumol repeated that it is exploitation of the Adivasi community in the name of development. I reflected on the justifications made by the co-ordinator of the Vivekananda Mission: it is secular in nature as these events are not restricted to the Adivasi only, but are for the cross section of the population, including Muslims. I cross-checked this data with the medical camp's attendance register that confirmed his argument. The co-ordinator also claimed that the Mission conducted events and activities to fulfil the interests of RSS leader who dreamed to work with the Adivasi community. I stated to the participants how the leaders mythicize the oppressive and invading nature of events while linking this narrative with similar reformist claims made by other SHGs in regard to

community or missionary work. These findings also helped me to validate my previous findings: the duality of oppression and the false binary between liberation and oppression (see Section 5.3).

When I shared my experience of being invited to the Sreekrishna Jayanthi event and my memories of the shift in the nature of worship and construction of my community temple, Rajan responded that events take place in order to unite the Hindu community against the Christian and Muslim communities. However, Sumesh and Rajan repeatedly said that such events contribute to benefits, although meetings and community work marginalise the Adivasi community. Moreover, people take over such platforms because the Adivasi community withdrew themselves from the opportunities provided (see Table Fourteen, p133). Sumesh and Rajan added that it is a welfare activity, secular and serves the common interests, so people should co-operate.

Again, I defended participants' arguments regarding the secular nature of events: 'caste now functions in the name of secularism, charity and welfare'. When Rajan repeatedly declined my argument, Remya reminded Rajan to look at photographs showing the icons of Gods in the Bamboo Craft building and the tribal meeting at the bottom of the flex board. This time, Rajan conceded that oppression is everywhere. Other participants nodded to support Rajan's revised position.

Participants admitted their shift in the preference towards saffron. When I linked this theme with Freire's themes of invasion and imitation, Rejani, Remya and Binumol confirmed my analysis during interviews and evaluation meetings. It is due to both invasion and imitation. But, Karimpan, Sumesh and Rajan said that it is neither invasion nor imitation, but that change occurred for practical reasons. Sometimes, the colour saffron helps people to stop themselves from being marginalised as differences rarely exist: that supplemented my initial theme of 'dress code as resistance to established caste norms'. Participants also confirmed the shift in the use of the term 'colony' and the disappearance of traditional village names. However, Rajan sarcastically said that the term 'colony' reveals their marginalised status and make them avail of benefits despite being derogatory.

As discussed above, two additional themes emerged when discussing events with invasive natures: 'events as secular/welfare actions' and 'events as unification'. Additionally, a theme of shift in the nature of worship emerged when I mixed my storytelling data with the icons of Gods in the Bamboo Craft building and in participants' houses. So, again I compared these themes with Freire's theme of 'banking education as cultural invasion' (see Section 6.2).

Table Twenty-five

From cultural invasion to caste invasion

Comparison and dialogue between themes		
Participants' themes	**A priori themes (from literature)**	**A priori themes (from Freire)**
Adivasi ways of lives as marginalised	Culture as ways of life	Banking education as cultural invasion
	Caste as imposition of social stratification and ways of life of upper caste	

Taking my lead from Ryan and Bernard (2004), I compared the participants' theme, 'Adivasi ways of lives as marginalised' with *a priori* themes emerging from empirical literature 'culture as ways of life' (Kluckhohn, 1944) and 'caste as imposition of social stratification and ways of life of upper caste' (Ambedkar, 2004) and Freire's theme-'banking education as cultural invasion' (see Table Twenty-five). In this dialogue between themes, I identified the difference between culture and caste and the limitations of Freire's in understanding the marginalised ways of lives'. In contrast to culture, caste itself refers to ways of life that people should follow in a banking way. Freire's concept of banking education and cultural invasion is insufficient to explore caste as social stratification or caste as culture with banking nature (see Section 6.2.1). In order to deal with the ambiguity of the term culture, I framed my own concept of 'caste invasion' especially to explore caste oppression and marginalisation in its new forms, as discussed next.

Table Twenty-six

Caste oppression and marginalisation in dual forms

Comparison and dialogue between themes		
Participants' themes	**A priori themes (from empirical literature)**	**A priori themes (from Freire)**
Events as pseudo-secular, welfare and participatory goals	Caste as division and stratification	Division as a tactic of the oppressor
Events as pseudo-unification	Development as Hindutva	
Development as marginalising identities	Parliamentary politics as pseudo-unification and a means of annihilating identities	

Drawing on Ryan and Bernard (2004), I compared a set of participants' themes- 'events as pseudo-secular, welfare and participatory goals', 'events as pseudo-unification' and 'development as marginalising identities' with *a priori* themes including 'division as tactics of oppressor' (Freire, 2000) and 'caste as division/stratification' (Ambedkar, 2004), as shown in Table Twenty-six. During this dialogue, and differently from Freire, I identified a false binary between unification and division: Freire argues that the oppressor wants to divide the oppressed to maintain the status quo. In contrast to Freire, I discovered how caste organisations conduct events to effect pseudo-unification of marginalised communities while reinforcing divisive tactics. Similarly, I discovered a false binary between caste and secular values.

I validated my findings when I compared this analysis with other *a priori* themes (Ryan and Bernard, 2004) including'development as hindutva' (Ahmed, 2014); 'parliamentary politics as unification and assimilation of identities' (Teltumde, 2012); and 'governance as marginalising Adivasi identities'. I also identified some differences: Ahmed and Teltumde explore pseudo-unification about parliamentary politics at macro level; besides, they do not explore the dual nature of caste oppression, especially in its pseudo-secular context. Steur (2009) explored how governmental category Adivasi marginalises different issues across identities including Paniya, Kattunaikka or Urali. In contrast to these scholars, I explored how caste continues to oppress and marginalise people in new forms, and how the caste oppressors mythicize caste invasion with pseudo-unification strategies (see Section 6.2.1).

Table Twenty-seven

Invasion and imitation: Resistance to oppression and marginalisation

Comparison and dialogue between themes		
Participants' themes	**A priori themes (from literature)**	**A priori themes (from Freire)**
Dress code as resistance to marginalisation	Dress code as resistance to established caste norms	Oppressor's culture as invasive over the oppressed
Saffron as imitation and invasion	Dress code as imposed practice	The oppressed as imitators of the oppressor's culture

As Table Twenty-seven illustrates, I proceeded to compare (Ryan and Bernard (2004) a set of themes - 'saffron as imitation and invasion' and 'dress code as resistance to oppression and marginalisation'- with the *a priori* theme of 'dress code as imposed practice in caste' (Sanalmohan, 2007). In this comparison, I identified the ambiguity of the terms invasion and imitation in their varying contexts especially to explore the shift in the nature of caste. In the past,

marginalised women were obliged to bare their breasts and marginalised people in general were not allowed to wear clothes with bright colours, including saffron. However, today there are no such restrictions. In further dialogue with Freire's theme of 'oppressor's culture as invasive over and imitated by the oppressed', I identified the limitations of this Freirian analysis to explore behaviours beyond simple imitation and invasion. I thus extended the false binary between the oppressor and oppressed in regard to imitation and invasion.

Table Twenty-eight

Shift in the nature of caste oppression and marginalisation

Comparison and dialogue between themes	
Participants' themes	***A priori* themes (from literature)**
Ekal Vidyalaya as education providers	Education as prohibited
Events as unification	Caste as stratification
Opportunities as imposed and declined	Opportunities as limited
Dress code as a choice	Dress code as prohibited and imposed
Dress code as imitation or invasion	

Drawing on Ryan and Bernard (2004), I reflected back to some of the *a priori* themes on caste (Ambedkar, 2004; Omvedt, 1971), revealing an incoherence between themes, as shown in Table Twenty-two. Drawing on both sets of themes (from literature and empirical data), I identified that how people had been oppressed, marginalised and silenced by the caste system, and saw a shift in the nature of control and marginalisation, drawing on Foucault's ideas of power(see Appendix Two).

In the past, marginalised communities were prohibited from learning Vedas or Sanskrit; today Vivekananda Mission runs Ekal Vidyalaya classes in the name of uplifting and development: these allow the Adivasi children to learn Sanskrit hymns. Historically, Hindu society was a stratified society, but today the RSS conduct events to bring about pseudo-unification of marginalised communities. In the past, there were limited opportunities, but today opportunities are imposed on to people or people are unable to take advantage of opportunities. In the past, marginalised communities were not allowed to wear clean/white clothes or were prohibited from dress codes of the upper caste. Today, there are no such restrictions and the colour saffron (a dress code of the upper caste) is prevalent among the Adivasi community (see Section 6.2.2).

Table Twenty-nine

Caste oppression as paradoxical

Comparison and dialogue between themes		
Participants' themes	***A priori* themes (from Foucault)**	***A priori* themes (from Freire)**
Power as amoeba	Power as disciplinary and multi-directional	Power as unidirectional
People as chameleons		

Linking the incoherence between themes reflecting the shift in the nature of oppression and marginalisation, I stated to the participants that caste continues to oppress and marginalise people in a paradoxical way: it takes new invisible forms making it difficult for us to defend against it. Rajan and Sumesh linked my ideas to the metaphors of the amoeba and the chameleon. Power is like an amoeba that changes its shape to catch food, and people change their colour like chameleons; when people play double roles they cannot be trusted and we cannot discover their execution of oppression or predict whether they are friends or enemies (see Section 5.1.2.a).

Table Thirty

Events as marginalisation: Marginalisation as marginalised discussion

Mixed methods	**Findings emerged through comparative method**
Participant observation • Social Solidarity Day • Tribal cultural festival • Watershed Project	Differences in serving dinner or separation between Adivasi and non-Adivasi population in seating positions
Photographs	
interviews with informal participants:	
Participant observation of Medical camp	Separation between Kuruma and Paniya community Differences in serving dinner
Participant observation of Uchal Festival	
Observation of meetings and events	Leaders' claims on reformation of caste in the past with no reference to marginalisation occurring today and their inability to see events themselves form marginalisation
participant observation of meetings and events	

As per Freire (2005), photographs provided me with sufficient data to analyse implicit and on-going forms of marginalisation. I noticed gaps between seats and partiality in serving food in public events, as shown in Table Thirty. So, drawing on Ryan and Bernard (2004), I took some photos (see Figures Twenty-three-Twenty-six, p273, to look for similarities and differences. Broadly, similar finding commonly discovered was 'discrimination and distance between Adivasi and non-Adivasi population'. In order to cross-check this finding, I had informal conversations with those who seemed to be discriminated against, and they confirmed that they did not have tea (Tribal Cultural Festival) or biscuits (Watershed Project inauguration).

I further compared these findings with my field notes on participant observation of other events, including medical camp and Uchal Festival. I found similar findings of discrimination and distance between the Paniya and the Kuruma communities in both events: 'Paniya couple stepping backward from the queue and ignored' in the medical camp, and a Paniya woman was being served outside the veranda of a Kuruma family during Uchal Festival. I joinedfindings emerged from both comparisons, leading me to identify a common theme of 'events as marginalisation'.

I listened to the audiotapes of many events and found that the leaders only refer to older forms of marginalisation. Comparing photographs, participant observation and the audiotapes of leaders' speech revealed, however, that the leaders could not see the contemporary marginalisation before them. This incoherence led me to generate a theme of 'marginalisation as marginalised discussion'. During interviews and evaluation meetings, I presented these photographsand emergingthemes for 'respondent validation' (Cohen *et al*, 2009; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Sapsford and Jupp, 1996) and 'photo elicitation' (Collier, 1967; 1979; Best, 2012). However, I did not present the themeof distance and discrimination between the Paniya and Kuruma community due to confidentiality considerations (see Section 4.5.1).

- How do you respond to the photographs and leaders' talk about marginalisation?
- Why are there gaps between the Adivasi and non-Adivasi population?
- Do both people choose themselves to keep a distance from one another?
- Why are some people given certain foods but not others?
- Why are some people served last or not served at all?

Table Thirty-one

Marginalisation as marginalised discussion: Analysing photographic data and theme through respondent validation/photo elicitation

Methods	Points of agreement	Points of disagreement	Points of confirmation
Interviews	It may be untouchability It is untouchability	There is no untouchability today Could it be accidental? It is untouchability, but people also choose themselves to be untouchables Not sure whether it is untouchability or not Technical reasons to defend the episodes of untouchability	It is untouchability Participants present similar episodes from other events
photo-elicitation interviews			
photo elicitation during evaluation meetings			

As illustrated in Table Thirty-one, the participants did not disagree with my position on the leaders' talk. During interviews, the participants had denied the existence of untouchability, and there were still some points of disagreement when I linked the episodes of discrimination with the *a priori* (Ryan and Bernard, 2004) theme of 'caste as untouchability and unapproachability' during interviews. Some participants were still unsure, some declined and some said people choose themselves to be untouchables. However, in the evaluation meetings, the participants changed their views in their dialogue with fellow participants. They admitted that untouchability continues to exist in new forms, and they reminded me of similar episodes from the meetings they attended. This experience of photographic data collection and analysis reflects on the limitations of a single approach to explore hidden forms of issues and the advantage of photo-elicitation (Collier, 1967;1979), within the mixed methods approach (Thaler, 2015; Best, 2012; Patton, 2002) In addition, photographs became a tool for posing themes for the participants reflect on, as evident from Freire (2005).

I mixed all these data in dialogue with one another and I concluded that,on the one hand, people are treated as untouchables; on the other hand, some people choose themselves to be untouchables. Some incidents cannot be considered as signs of untouchability or caste oppression, as they can be justified for technical reasons. Drawing on Ryan and Bernard (2004), I

linked these data with Freire to consider how caste continues to oppress and marginalise people forming myths in new forms (see Section 6.3).

Table Thirty-two

Untouchability and unapproachability as oppression: Between narration sickness and communication

Comparison and dialogue between themes		
Participants' themes	**A priori themes (from empirical literature)**	**A priori themes (from Freire)**
Events as marginalisation	Caste as untouchability and unapproachability	Banking education as oppression
Marginalisation as marginalised discussion		Banking education as narration sickness
	Caste as a topic of the past	Problem-posing education as communication

Drawing on Ryan and Bernard (2004), I combined the participants' themes with *a priori* themes including Freire's: that contributed to a general theme of 'untouchability and unapproachability as oppression' as evident from table Thirty-two. Similarly, themes of caste as a topic of the past and 'marginalisation as marginalised discussion' (see Table Thirty, p152) were compared with Freire's themes of banking education as narration sickness and problem-posing education as communication. From this dialogue, and differently from Freire, I discovered that leaders' speech simultaneously contributes to narration sickness and communication beyond the false binaries.

I have omitted irrelevant themes that were personal and confidential, so some relevant themes do not form a part of this thesis. Omitted themes that would warrant futureinvestigation were-language as means of marginalisation; untouchability within the untouchables; adivasi traditions as in transition from tribe to caste (see Sections 7.5.1-to- 7.5.3).

Our discussions in the final evaluation meetings did not always follow the same sequence as the key discussions. Neither was the sequence similar to that of the items in my discussion chapters, or Chapters Five and Six; nor did these meetings reflect a formal classroom like dialogue. Ideas emerged sporadically from our discussions, either within the same day or on another day. For example, while discussing the increased growth of SHGs and competition between the 'oppressors', caste became a topic in connection with the paradox of oppression. Similarly, when discussing how formal meetings silence people, caste was a topic to explore how long term experience of marginalisation from formal education causes people to remain silent, and how people marginalise their own opportunities. In order to allow my chapters to flow easily, I have

elaborated on the issue of caste separately in Chapter Six, with cross references between Chapters Five and Six. In addition, I have mixed observational data in connection with the different features of Freire's banking and problem-posing education: that led me to explore meetings as education in general (see Section 5.1).

In short, mixing findings drawn from different methods made my methodology more dialogical. If the researcher only uses a single method, or different methods without letting them negotiate with one another, s/he could only analyse findings in a mono-logical or banking way. Mixed methods is a useful approach to move beyond a mono-logical empirical enquiry, despite the fact that the application of these methods can become unavoidably less banking or mono-logical after the fieldwork (see Chapter Four).

3.6 Lessons from the methodology chapter

In this chapter, I further engaged with Freire (1978; 1985; 1994; 1995; 1998a; 2000; 2005) and related scholars to develop a dialogical methodology, derived while applying his educational thoughts into research. The problem-posing model is also participatory as it allows both researchers and participants to mutually decide the focus, sample, number of participants and their participation and to develop or refine research questions in an on-going dialogue. Nevertheless, Freire does not point out how these participatory methods can endanger mutuality and reinforce oppression. Besides, he does not explicitly differentiate between participatory and dialogical methodology despite his emphasis on ideas of participation and dialogue.

As distinct from Freire (1978; 2000; 2005), I developed a dialogical methodology while differentiating it from participatory methodology. A researcher learns the lives of participants with them in participatory research; dialogical methodology lets researchers share their experiences with participants and vice-versa. Additionally, dialogical methodology lets participants learn/revisit researchers' knowledge and informally evaluate researchers' behaviours. This methodology allows the researcher and participants together engage in the process of forming dialogue between participants' themes and *a priori* themes and thus revisit established knowledge although this process can be unavoidably mono-logical after fieldwork. Dialogical methodology allowed me to keep revisiting my methods of conducting observation, interviews and meetings, and my original focus and research questions, based on the participants' informal suggestions and my reflective accounts. This made participation less oppressive, and allowed me to learn with the participants and vice-versa.

I learned from my dialogue with Freire and the participants that research is educational. First, this analogy helped me to introduce Freire, and to pose his theoretical concepts and empirical data to the participants. However, this process was unavoidably less banking and thus oppressive despite my attempts to become a problem-poser. Second, it made the participants and me aware of our unfinished knowledge, and allowed the participants and myself to revisit Freire's ideas while sharing experiences and negotiating each other's views dialogically. So, this research is educational in two ways: in the way research is conducted (banking, problem-posing or both); and in the way both the participants and I learned from and taught each other in fieldwork meetings, through a constant process of dialogue.

Dialogical approach enabled me to use different methods in dialogue with one another as my fieldwork progressed. Dialogical methodology also borrows the principles of the mixed methods approach derived from Freire's problem-posing model. A mixed method approach helped me to cross-check my findings; look for similarities and differences across data; and identify themes for respondent validation. During the process of respondent validation, the participants and I reached points of agreement and disagreement enabling us to co-construct existing knowledge through an on-going process of dialogue. My methodology is dialogical in order to form dialogue with the literature as well as with the participants. Furthermore, it is dialogical to research our own contributions to oppression, marginalisation and education in this research itself (see Chapter Four).

CHAPTER FOUR

FIELDWORK PARTICIPATION AND REFLECTION: DIALOGICAL METHODS FOR MINIMISING THE UNAVOIDABLE ELEMENTS OF OPPRESSION AND MARGINALISATION

Introduction

On my first visit to a town in Southern Wayanad, I saw a lady rolling around in the middle of the road. She appeared to have collapsed. There was no footpath and another lady prompted her to move to the side as she was staggering. I thought there had been an accident, and so my friend stopped the car. He said, 'They are Paniya women. One of them drank a lot. Have a word with them if you want to.' I asked the lady who was helping the one on the ground, 'What is the matter? Are you okay?' The lady pointed her right thumb towards her mouth and replied 'sooda' (hot) – a term used to refer to the act of getting drunk. I did not understand her expression at first, but later realised that an equivalent expression in English would be, 'My colleague is legless.' I use the English expression 'legless' to translate the idiom 'sooda'. One passenger told me, 'It is a common scene after 6pm; she will get up and go home later on,' (18.09.13).

This was my first experience of observation, interviews and recording a 'critical incident' (Tripp, 2002; Best, 2012; Flanagan, 1954) in Southern Wayanad. These Paniya women I encountered were the first informal participants in my research. I did not tell them who I was or what my project was. I did not get informed consent from them. This critical incident led me to constantly think of the ways to minimise ethical issues (see Section 4.6). As introduced in Section 4.1, many critical incidents made me observe both my own behaviour and fieldwork, as well as the participants' behaviour and their meetings: I became both a subject and an object in my research. These critical incidents were also crucial to revisit Freire's (1994; 1998a; 2000; 2005) oppressor/ oppressed dichotomies while addressing the relation between researcher and participants.

This chapter elaborates on these critical incidents, and how I stop myself from further oppressing or being oppressed by the participants. Section 4.2 explains the unavoidable elements of oppression in finding Kuruma community as participants. Section 4.3 identifies my struggles to present the experience of silencing and being silenced in meetings. Section 4.4 presents the struggle and dialogue explaining the oppressive potentials of participatory observation/evaluation and participants' critique of Freire and my methodology. Section 4.5 explores how interviews could unintentionally marginalise the participants and me. Section 4.6 identifies some of the major ethical issues. This chapter addresses the following questions (Sub-aim Two):

- How did I perform my dual role of being a research object and subject to minimise the unavoidable elements of oppression in fieldwork?
- What are the complexities of applying Freire's educational thoughts into research?
- To what extent does dialogical methodology minimise the oppressive and marginalising nature of my fieldwork over participatory methodology?

4.1 Being a subject and object: a reflective journal of critical incidents, fieldwork struggles and dialogues

This section particularly discusses how I performed my double roles as both a research subject and object simultaneously utilising the critical incident approach and the principles of auto-ethnography and reflectivity. This section presents a reflective journal (see, Table Thirty-three) of my fieldwork struggles and dialogues with the participants, addressing the relationship between me (the researcher) and the participants in terms of Freire's teacher-studentand oppressor-oppressed dichotomies. Throughout, I reflected on my fieldwork meetings and my behaviour, and how they impacted the participants, and vice-versa. *Auto-ethnography* (Murphy, 1987; Schwalbe, 1996a; Tedlock, 1991) is a researchers' self-observation of their own fieldwork, or observation of participant observation. In other words, the researcher involves in a reflective analysis or description of his own behaviour, drawing on relevant critical incidents. Many scholars (Dewey, 1993; Marriott, 1949; Paul, 1953; Malinowski, 1961) suggest reflective journaling to generate best teaching or fieldwork practices. Murphy (1987:126) writes that:

> Research among the motor-handicapped and participation in their organizations forced me to see myself in their lives, and this left me feeling that my own status was insecure and threatened.

Murphy discusses how researchers can position themselves while participating with people with physical challenges. Similarly, Schwalbe (1996a:58), whose fieldwork in the men's movement verged at times on auto-ethnography, observes that reflecting on my reactions to their activities, in light of my own biography, also helped me to understand what the men were seeking and why. Every insight was both a doorway and a mirror—a way to see into their experience and a way to look back at mine. Lofland (1971) advises that field notes should include a record of the researcher's feelings and reactions. As he succinctly put it, `Field notes are not only for recording the setting; they are for "recording" the observer as well,' (p 234).

Dewey (1993:9) asserts that reflective thinking frees people from impulsive and routine actions: reflection is an 'active, persistent, and careful consideration of any belief or supposed form of knowledge in the light of the grounds that support it and the further conclusions to which it

tends'. Dewey, Spalding and Wilson (2002) claim that reflective thinking liberates people from prejudices and makes them consider the consequences of their own actions regarding many subject positions. Barry and King (1998:409) provide a checklist for teachers to be reflective in classroom:

1. What went well about the lesson? Identify several positive features.

2. Why did these positive features go well?
3. What have you learned about your teaching? To what extent are these features strengths in your teaching?
4. What did not go so well about the lesson? Identify several features.
5. Why did these features not go so well?
6. What have you learned about your teaching? To what extent are these features shortcomings in your teaching?
7. Taking questions 3 and 6 together, how can you capitalise on your strengths and change your shortcomings in your next lesson?

With these checks, teachers identify the strengths and weaknesses of their teaching and continue to evolve their teaching practices. Posner (1985:21) writes that, 'reflective thinking allows a teacher to examine critically the assumptions that schools make about what can count as acceptable goals and methods, problems, and solutions'. Many scholars have applied similar ideas into research: Malinowski (1993) suggests that an ethnographer must realise his/her perspectives of their own world and analyse their own behaviours through a native's viewpoint in the world of inter-subjectivity. These ideas have much in common with Freire's concepts of reflection, praxis and inter-subjectivity.

THEORY OF REVOLUTIONARY ACTION		THEORY OF OPPRESSIVE ACTION
Intersubjectivity		
Subjects-Actors (revolutionary leaders)	Actors-Subjects (the oppressed)	Actors-Subjects (dominent elites)

Freire (2000) differentiates between the theory of revolutionary and oppressive action in connection with reflection. In revolutionary action, the leaders reflect on themselves from the perspectives of the oppressed while acting with the oppressed; in the oppressive action, the dominant elites act on themselves without involving the oppressed: the mutual role no longer exists, and actors become mere objects of their own actions, which are mono-logical and immobile, and thus maintain the oppressive world. Considering the strengths and weaknesses of both actions, I should revisit my behaviours through the participants' views in the realm of inter-subjectivity. Freire (2000:45) writes:

> Who are better prepared than the oppressed to understand the terrible significance of an oppressive society? Who suffer the effects of oppression more than the oppressed? Who can better understand the necessity of liberation?

As evident from Freire, those who work with the oppressed should bear these ideas in mind whileresearching or discussing oppression. They should not impose their worldviews, but, they should explore oppression from the perspectives of the oppressed. Otherwise, their research, community workor discussions about oppression themselves will descend into a patronising exercise but nothing more (Syamprasad, 2016). These ideas made me realise that I should constantly reflect on the participants' views while observing my role as an *oppressor-researcher* as a way of minimising oppressive potentials of my research. For Freire, liberation itself is a praxis leading the oppressed towards a united action and reflection upon their oppressive world. As evident from Hammersley and Atkinson (2007), reflexivity is an important aspect of research involving participant observation and the researcher's reflective accounts of that participation. For Best (2012:104), recording critical incidents is crucial for the researcher to be reflective in understanding people's stories and events:

> As researchers, we can use critical incidents as a basis for reflection on action and this implies going deeper into what we consider to be the motives of people involved in the incident, raising consciousness and generating knowledge.

Best argues that critical incidents have implications for both the researcher and the participants. Best (2012:104-105) further suggests a method that employs the critical incident approach:

> First, you need to identify an incident that is critical for you or your respondents. Secondly, you need to describe the incident. Thirdly, you need to place the incident within a context of relevant theory and research.

Best points out that these steps enable the researcher to discover the reasons for participants' behaviours during incidents and to draw conclusions. Flanagan (1954) argues that critical incident is not a rigid form of data collection but can be used in a flexible way. Similarly, Sapsford and Jupp (1996:91) point out: 'reflection during data collection may influence the process of future data collection because it may throw up methodological hypothesis and suggest alternative ways of collecting data'.

As an object, I participated in many events; as a subject, I evaluated my own behaviour through the participants' eyes and I learned to see myself from a distance. I was inspired to use the 'critical incident approach' (Best, 2012; Tripp, 2012; Woods, 1993) and write a reflective journal based on critical incidents that occurred during participants' formal meetings and my fieldwork

meetings. Additionally, remembering my lifelong critical incidents (Tripp, 2012) led me to choose this research on oppression and marginalisation as introduced in Chapter One.

My journal allowed me to observe my own behaviour and fieldwork to minimise oppression and ethical issues; to refine research questions and generate new ones; to provide evidence for observation; and to validate findings drawn from other methods (see Sections 4.1.4, 4.1.5, 4.1.7, and 4.1.9). These reflections usually happened in the evening, or a few minutes after my interviews. In this research, critical incident was not a single method of data collection, like observation or interview, and it was difficult to identify critical incident as a method of data collection or analysis exclusively, since both processes went hand in hand. Table Thirty-three describes some key incidents where I self-observed my role as an oppressor/oppressed a subject and an object, in my reflective journal.

Table Thirty-three

Critical incidents: development of research questions and reflective journal

No	Critical incidents	Questions	My role
1	My telephone conversations with Renjini and initial struggles	Did she doubt my position and identity as a researcher? Did I clearly introduce myself and my study?	Outsider/non-Adivasi-researcher
2	Paniya women's use of sign language and my difficulty understanding their communication	Did I tell them who I was and what my study was? Did I seek informed consent? Did I communicate with them clearly?	Oppressor-visitor to the field
3	My early visits to NHG meetings	Did I push them too much to start the meeting? Did my presence oppress them in meetings?	Oppressor-observer
4	My dress code and participants' reactions	Did I look funny out in the community? Did people doubt my position as a researcher and treat me as a stranger? How can I dress differently?	Oppressor/oppressed stranger/visitor
5	My limitations to find participants, and their withdrawal and low attendance	Was my approach to find participants banking? Was I compelled to simply follow leaders' suggestions? What makes people not attend meetings? To what extent are meetings imposed?	Helpless oppressor-researcher Marginalised/banking researcher
6	My experience of speech shame and communication in meetings: being silencing and silenced	How did the participants and I silence each other in meetings? Why can't I speak properly in formal meetings? How do I stop myself from being silencing and silenced?	Silencing/silenced researcher
7	My attempts to ensure participation, participants' withdrawal from formal tasks	Did my attempt to become a problem-posing researcher itself become banking? Did I give the participants enough time to conduct a formal data analysis?	Banking/problem-posing/marginalised researcher
8	My attempts to complete missed conversations	Did I have to spend equal amount of time with each participant during interviews? Did I spend too much time with one participant and too little with another?	Oppressor interviewer
9	My attempts to marginalise participants' stories and vice-versa	Are the participants still not sure about my fieldwork and the nature of their participation? Did I reflect on Karimpan's narratives while introducing Freire's ideas of myth? Did the participants and I talk to each other mutually in meetings and interviews?	Narration/communicative/marginalised interviewer

4.1.1 As an outsider non-Adivasi researcher: My telephone conversations with the participants from the UK

I started writing my reflective journal when I phoned Renjini, the CDS chairperson, before leaving the UK. I spoke to her five times between June and September 2013. No telephone conversation lasted more than five minutes, and the line was often bad. I did not audio record these conversations as I had not obtained consent from her at that early stage, but I did write the time, frequency and important points of our discussion in my diary. The CDS chairperson did not talk much, as demonstrated by the following conversation:

> Syam: Hi, this is Syam, I am planning to reach there by the middle of September.
>
> CDS chairperson: Okay, no problem, when you reach here we will discuss in detail.
>
> Syam: As I said before, have you decided which NHG I could get access?
>
> CDS chairperson: Do not get me wrong, there are good and bad things.
>
> Syam: Any issues?
>
> CDS chairperson: No issues. But I need to talk to District Mission before you start. Everything cannot be disclosed over the phone. (Field notes, 23.07.13)

This conversation worried me, because she had initially assured me of support and did not mention that she needed permission from the District Mission:

- Did she doubt my position and identity as a researcher?
- Did I clearly introduce myself or explain my study?
- Would she decline my request?

When I met her at the Edakkal Panchayat, she revealed that she was told not to commit to anything without getting permission from the District Mission. This was due to her previous experience of oppression from a media expert who wrote things derogatory to the Kudumbashree (see Section 4.4.2). These conversations enabled me to evaluate my subject position as an outsider, which might create fears and confusion among the participants, and reminded me of ethical issues regarding what to include or exclude in my thesis (see Section 4.6).

For many scholars (Posner, 1985; Dewey, 1993), reflective thinking enables the researcher to yield best fieldwork practices. Moreover, these scholars mostly discuss reflection as a way to avoid marginalising participants. My reflective journal minimised ethical issues, and allowed me to

explore participants' related experiences of oppression and how participants can oppress or marginalise the researcher unintentionally (see Section 4.4.2)

4.1.2 As an oppressor-visitor to the field: Paniya women's use of sign language and my difficulty understanding their communication

When I met two Paniya women on the road on my first day in Southern Wayanad (16.09.13, see page 168), my communication with one of them was problematic: I did not understand her idioms, so she used some signs to communicate that her colleague was drunk. I wrote about this incident in my diary that evening: it reminded me of the potential communication barriers I would encounter (see Section 2.2.1. b).

However, I did not find this incident fully 'useful' until my initial meeting (19.09.13).The Standing Committee chairman used some offensive language to refer to the typical behaviour of the Paniya community out in the community and their drinking habits. The CDS chairperson raised issues of communication with Paniya community (see Sections 4.2 and 5.2). I then realised that my chance encounter could be useful to refine my intended research questions. Suddenly, I thought of the ethical issues regarding consent and communication.

- Did I tell them who I was and what my project was?
- Did I seek informed consent?
- Did I communicate with them clearly?

The answers were 'NO'; it was too late to deal with these ethical issues as the episode was over and I had no way to contact the women. Thereafter, I decided I would introduce my project to people on similar occasions, request their contact details, and inform them that their narratives could be included or shared anonymously. Moreover, I became more aware of potential communication barriers. As Boyd and Boyd (2005) show, an important part of a teaching reflective journal is to go through students' comments and share them during classroom discussions. Similarly, Freire claims that revolutionary leaders should reflect on people's language and idioms to form relationships. Bearing these ideas in mind, I shared my initial communication struggles with the participants to get their feedback. A few participants explained to me the meaning of such idioms; they also shared similar idioms used by the Kuruma community, and a few participants volunteered to translate them for me. In return, I introduced some of the idioms typically used by my community (see Appendix Two).

Many scholars address the importance of informed consent and information sharing before forming dialogues with *formal* participants. However, they rarely discuss the limitations of seeking informed consent or sharing project information when forming dialogues with *informal* participants. Initially, the participants did not wish to sign consent forms due to their ancestors' experiences of signing forged documents; Karimpan did not want to be anonymised. Such ethical issues are unavoidable in fieldwork (see Section 4.6).

4.1.3 As an oppressor/oppressed/stranger visitor: My dress and appearance, and participants' reactions

One day, I went with Binumol to meet people across the Edakkal Panchayat (23.09.13). I dressed in trousers and a shirt, wore sunglasses, and had a briefcase for my materials. I received some comments that I found offensive. A bus conductor asked me, 'Are you a missionary worker to convert us?' (see Section 5.3). Some children said, 'Look, look! SAYIPPU (A white Tourist) is coming.' I asked myself that evening:

- Did I look funny out in the community?
- Did people doubt my position as a researcher and treat me as a stranger?
- How can I dress differently?

When I shared these critical incidents during informal conversations, the participants responded that volunteers of the Pentecost mission had a similar dress code to mine, which could explain the bus conductor's comment. Similarly, people mostly see foreign tourists wearing sunglasses, whereas locals carry an umbrella on a sunny day. From these comments, I learned the significance of my dress code: it could confuse people about my identity. As a result, I slightly changed my dress code: I sometimes wore a white dhoti and a shirt, similar to the local community, and I started using an umbrella for shade, but I had to keep my briefcase for my fieldwork requirements. Lisiak (2015:3) encountered similar reflective questions in the field.

> How do I dress when I have to be out all day and move between multiple locations and contexts? How do I dress in changeable weather? How do I dress when I need to attend a special event related to my research?

Lisiak asserts that researchers do not have to expand their wardrobes to look like a costume shop or a theatre dressing room. However, dress code, physical appearance and the objects a researcher carries are significant in building relationships with or keeping distance from participants. Importantly, researchers' actions are most likely to be evaluated by their appearance, the contents of their talk or mode of delivery. Moreover, researchers' multiple

identities – including gender, class, ethnicity, nationality or migration history – all together shape their choice of dress code. Svendsen (2006:151) argues that although a researcher's dress code cannot stop participants from being judgemental, those judgements may be shaped to some extent by careful consideration of what to wear on particular occasions.

So, during the event of Uchal festival (27.10.13), I took special care to wear a dhoti and a shirt, as typical for local men on special occasions, even though I found it uncomfortable as I was not accustomed to it. Although Lisiak considers dress codes as powerful markers of a researcher's identity, she places limited emphasis on how the researcher or the participants might implicitly oppress/marginalise each other. I explored how both parties can oppress or marginalise each other with their dress code, and how such dress code can also be a mark of invasion or imitation (see Sections 5.5 and 6.2).

4.1.4 As a helpless oppressor-researcher: My limitations in finding participants, and their withdrawal

On day one (19.09.13), I had a meeting with both Panchayat and Kudumbashree leaders. We mainly discussed how to find a community for the fieldwork. The CDS chairperson suggested Kuruma community; the Welfare Standing Committee chairperson suggested Paniya community; the president of Edakkal Panchayat recommended members from a cross-section of the Adivasi population. Following these suggestions, I conducted two meetings (23.09.13; 24.09.13) to find participants from Kudumbashree and Adivasi community organisations. There was high attendance at the first meeting, for the Kudumbashree members, but attendance was negligible in the second one, for the Adivasi community organisation. I asked the participants and then myself: `What should I do if more people do not turn up, or withdraw from fieldwork?' I needed four more participants. Two NHG members said that people were not interested and they typically attended meetings when they were compelled to do so. That evening, I assessed myself and the precautions to be followed:

- Was my approach to find participants banking?
- Was I compelled to simply follow the leaders' suggestions to find participants?

While listening to the audiotapes and reflecting on these critical incidents, I realised that I had to follow the instructions of the leaders and had very limited involvement in the decision making. The CDS chairperson nominated some participants, because they remained silent when I requested. Some of them refused straight away; others silently withdrew later, making themselves unavailable when I went to interview them (see Sections 4.2 and 4.3.1). Perhaps they

had good reason to withdraw. Low attendance in this meeting and withdrawal of certain participants became critical incidents for the participants as well as myself. These critical incidents led me to think of how participants marginalise the researcher, leading me to re-consider my role as a banking researcher and minimise the elements of compulsion. Consequently, I let certain people withdraw and found new participants. These incidents also led me to add new questions or validate similar findings (Best, 2012) regarding the oppressive nature of meetings and community work (see Tables Ten and Twelve):

- To what extent are meetings and community work similarly imposed?
- How/why do members similarly marginalise meetings and their opportunities?

I realised that my methods of finding participants was partly banking and partly problem-posing while reviewing the audio records and field notes of the previous meeting (23.09.13). As Posner (1985) claims, reflection enables the teacher to move away from traditions and evolve innovative teaching practices from a student's perspective. These ideas reflect Freire's ideas of unfinished knowledge and on-going learning. Therefore, all these reflective accounts led me to evolve myself in a constant process of dialogue with the participants.

I then made relevant changes: I kept the number of meetings to a minimum and replaced meetings with home visits to avoid further oppressing the participants (see Section 3.2). Tedlock (1991:69) elaborates on this dual role of the researcher in both participant observation and observation of participation.

> During participant observation ethnographers attempt to be both emotionally engaged participants and coolly dispassionate observers of the lives of others. In the observation of participant observation ethnographers both experience and observe their own and others' co-participation within the ethnographic encounter.

Tedlock illustrates that there has been a shift from participant observation to the observation of participation, one that identifies the potential effects of his/her own behaviour upon others. The experts (Tedlock, 1991; Murphy, 1987; Schwalbe, 1996a) of auto-ethnography emphasise the effects of researchers' behaviour on participants. Conversely, I discovered the effects of participants' behaviours on me as well when the participants seemed to withdraw from formal tasks. So, my reflections on fieldwork meetings as both a 'subject' and an 'object' offered critical insights: meetings can be unavoidably less banking, and participants can also marginalise the researcher (see Section 4.4.2).

4.1.5 As a silencing /silenced researcher: Common experiences of speech shame and communication struggles

I introduced Freire to deal with the ethical issues regarding 'information sharing'. This introduction was brief in my first meeting (19.09.13) as it was unscheduled. I tried to elaborate more on Freirian themes in the subsequent two meetings (23.09.13; 24.09.13) but the participants showed surprised faces. Similar episodes of silencing occurred during my attempts to find participants in the first meeting (see Section 4.3.2). I asked myself:

- How could I minimise the silencing nature of my meetings and speech, and the potential of forming narration sickness?
- How could I stop myself from being silenced in meetings?
- How could I minimise my speech shame in meetings?

Bearing these precautions in my mind, I reflected on what I experienced or what the participants shared when talking about Freire in subsequent meetings. For instance, I reflected on the critical incidents of low attendance and mandatory participation to present how Freire's education provides a parallel to research (see Section 4.3.2). However, the participants did not provide enough feedback about how this fieldwork can be progressed further.

Shobha told me that people would eventually get on with my project. Her comment reminded me that I should not expect the participants to immediately understand my project or Freire. So, I decided to spend more time with each participant for further discussion. Additionally, audiotapes revealed that the participants' silence made me talk more in both meetings. Similarly, I jumped over or ignored when one participant interfered in the third meeting (24.09.13). My conversations sometimes did not follow a sequence, and I missed important points to be delivered when I spoke from memory. When participants raised their ideas, I completed my conversation without listening to them carefully, because I did not want to lose clarity or the flow of ideas. With these realisations, I bought a small letter pad for the rest of my fieldwork: I wrote what needed to be discussed in a sequence, noting where I should stop and how long I should talk.

Rajan's body language and facial expressions made me silent in the initial meeting (23.09.13) when he discovered technical errors in my upgrade material regarding the caste/tribal identities. I become aware of my unfinished knowledge, and that prompted me to share similar episodes from my thesis with the participants in connection with Freire's problem-posing education. All these reflections helped me to stop myself from forming further silence and narration sickness (see Sections 4.1.9 and 4.5).

However, sometimes these precautions did not help. When I was asked to deliver an unexpected speech at the end of the Adivasi Co-operative Society meeting (5.10.13), I made mistakes as I was nervous. My experience in the ADS meeting was not exceptional. The large audience and the formal environment hindered me from communicating properly. Consequently, I reflectively evaluated myself and tried to rearrange my own meetings and one-to-one dialogues to be as informal as possible. These experiences also reminded me to avoid silencing the participants in the same way that I was silenced in these meetings. However, similar episodes of silence and speech shame happened unintentionally.

The aforementioned critical incidents of being silencing/silenced enabled me to explore why the participants formed silence in formal and informal meetings (see Table Fourteen, p140; Section 5.5). As Best (2012) shows, the critical incident method is a useful tool to gather the perspectives of those who participate in an event, raising the consciousness of others, who are thus able to identify with those similar experiences.

4.1.6 As an oppressor-observer in NHG meetings: My *early* visits to, and my presence in, NHG meetings

I observed two NHG meetings (29.09.13; 06.10.13). The participants informed me that NHG meetings normally started at 2pm on a Sunday, and I aimed to be punctual. However, the meetings did not start until 2.30 or 3 pm. There were not many attendees, and members seemed to rush by when they saw me. Deepthi stated that: 'Most people turned up for the meetings because we did not tell anyone that you were coming,' (NHG meetings, 23.09.13). My early arrival made Shobha laugh in the second meeting. Sumesh also commented that I did not have to be punctual (see Section 4.4.2), which made me consider the following:

- Did I push them too much to start the meeting on time?
- Did my presence oppress them in meetings?

Bearing these questions in mind, I made the following changes: thereafter, I waited outside the premises until the meeting started. Boyd and Boyd (2005:112) write of how the teachers evaluate themselves from students' sharp comments:

> Instructors learn much from students who take different perspectives on a familiar subject and make penetrating comments, but that learning is often lost when it is not recorded. We try to write down each significant comment or exchange just as the student said it.

In my case, participants' informal comments encouraged me to be friendly with all members, to get their feedback informally, to build relationships and to minimise participants' potential doubts about my position and background (see Section 4.4.2).

4.1.7 As a banking/problem-posing/marginalised researcher: My attempts to ensure participation, and participants' withdrawal from formal tasks

The participants had informal involvements in the fieldwork plans, refining the focus and intended research questions. I wished to form formal groups using numbers (02.11.13), and I prompted the participants to write their views on a chart paper in the evaluation meeting. However, the participants still had reservations in performing such tasks. These experiences made me consider:

- Did my attempt to become a problem-posing researcher itself become banking?
- Did I give the participants enough time to conduct a formal data analysis?

It was difficult to answer these questions because the participants tended to flatter rather than to criticise. Revisiting the audiotapes of my initial meetings and my field notes to reflect on the participants' previous episodes of 'reluctance', I realised that meetings with participatory natures had already oppressed the participants; any similar attempts could only reinforce their oppression. As Freire (2000) argues, problem-posing models should not mean a mechanical involvement of people. Consequently, I stepped back and did not further request that participants to write their comments on chart paper. Instead, the participants formed informal groups and I transcribed audiotape recordings of the meeting discussions (see Section 4.4). So, I revisited my methodology in an on-going process of dialogue to minimise the oppressive potentials of participation.

4.1.8 As an oppressor/oppressed researcher: Attempts to defend the participants' critique of Freire and vice-versa

Rajan critiqued that problem-posing education makes students lose their memories (26.09.13). I replied to him that education is not act of memorising. While listening to the audiotapes, I realised that he then talked about his son's experience of oppression without responding to my comments. Also, I did not force that discussion as I did not want to offend him. This incident made me feel that we both marginalised each other, and I seemed to avoid the advantage of banking or limitations of problem-posing model. Similarly, Sumesh and Karimpan too seemed to favour meetings with banking natures, as meetings bring some benefits to the community (see Sections 5.1.2.a and 5.4). I considered the following:

- Am I obsessive with Freire when talking about his theoretical model?
- Did I stop the participants from criticising Freire and thus limit opportunities for dialogues?

From the audiotapes of an evaluation meeting (26.09.13), I realised that I needed to be more open or sensitive when responding to participants' criticisms. These reflections reminded me to reflect on participants' criticisms that could refine Freire's theoretical models. So, I refined myself to address the limitations of problem-posing models too. The incoherence between the experiences/views of the participants, myself and Freire explored how banking and problem-posing models interact in meetings and events in Southern Wayanad (see Chapters Five and Six).

I conducted an evaluation meeting (29.10.13), to discuss my findings with the participants. Once again, I brought up Freire's problem-posing models to discuss my findings. While criticising the educational reforms in Kerala, Rajan replied to me that students do not get marks if they write of their experiences. When I said that banking education is the instrument of the upper caste, Rajan said that the upper caste's education is the only choice we have (see Section 5.1.2.a). I felt offended and responded that I did not think so. I thought his comments were irrelevant. That evening, I asked myself:

- Did I respond well to his queries?
- Did I ignore his questions?

The audiotapes revealed that I did not actually answer his questions and I had tried to defend against his arguments all the time. With these reflections, I brought up his discussion the next day in order to discuss how problem-posing education can also be a means of oppression. Additionally, these confessions enabled me to evaluate myself and my meetings. As Jackson (1968) points out, teachers cannot always act and reflect simultaneously because they may be busy with other tasks in the classroom; in their moment-to-moment communications, they may not always be analytic with their students; there are, however, occasions when they can reflect on themselves in solitude, before or after the class. However, Jackson does not emphasise how classroom can become unavoidably banking when reflection is absent, and can become problem-posing with a teachers' reflections of previous classroom/students' experiences. Considering these ideas in my evaluation meeting, my conversation with Rajan was unavoidably less banking but it became problem-posing the next day (see Sections 4.4.2; 5.1.2.a).

4.1.9 As a narration/communicative/marginalised interviewer: My attempts to marginalise participants' stories and vice-versa

In initial meetings, Karimpan repeatedly brought up stories of conquest and kinship systems, but did not discuss further fieldwork proceedings much. I felt that I did not fully reflect on participants' similar stories because it was not immediately related to my fieldwork. I asked myself the following questions:

- Are the participants still not sure about what my fieldwork is about and their participation is?
- Did I reflect on Karimpan's narratives while introducing Freire's ideas of myth?
- Did the participants and I talk to each other mutually in meetings and interviews?

When listening to the audiotapes, I noticed that sometimes I talked more, and other times Karimpan and Rajan seemed to talk more, but others simply listened or raised one or two questions. Some of our narratives were not significant to each other, and seemed to form narration sickness. Reflecting on these critical incidents helped me to validate findings in regard to how leaders form narration sickness in public speeches (see Section 4.5).

I realised that I could have at least partially reflected on Karimpan's stories of conquest to present Freire's (2000) theme of 'banking education as myth'. With my shortcomings in mind, I later reflected on Karimpan's stories in one-to-one dialogues and evaluation meetings. In addition, I tried to let the participants talk without interjecting, and avoided stories that were irrelevant to their lives. Similarly, I intervened when the participants talked too much outside the focus of discussion. These steps enabled me to minimise the tendencies of both the participants' and myself to form narration sickness with one another (see Section 4.5).

The audiotapes and my field notes revealed that I spent far less time with Deepthi than the other participants: Karimpan and Rajan's interviews lasted from 45 to 60 minutes; Deepthi's was about twenty-five minutes. I learn from Freire that each interview should be different, depending upon each participant's unique lived experiences. Otherwise, my interviews would slip back to the banking mode that requires all participants to discuss/answer similar questions. So, I spent more time with people who wished to talk more and less time with people who were too busy or who talked less.

Deepthi's transcription shows that she did not have much opportunity to respond to my questions or complete a conversation because she had to feed the animals in the middle of our interviews. I tried to contact Deepthi again for her to complete these conversations, but she was too busy and

we only talked for another ten minutes. I found that this time for respondent validation was much shorter than the time that I spent with other participants (see Sections 4.5 and 3.5.1.b). These reflections made me realise that each interview was different and refined Freire's idea of mutuality that does not always 50:50 involvement between the researcher and the participants.

As evident from Dewey (1993), reflective journals enable teachers to evaluate their teaching skills and then develop new ones. He further argues that experiences can educate people, but experiences also mis-educate people, so what is important for people is to weave the meaning of experiences reflectively. Therefore, reflection means making connections between experiences, between experiences and knowledge, and between knowledge and knowledge.

Applying these educational thoughts into research, my reflective journals caused me to compare my fieldwork meetings with participants' formal and informal meetings and events. As discussed previously, I compared the knowledge of both the participants and myself regarding our shared experiences of oppression and marginalisation and the way we oppress or marginalise each other unintentionally (see Sections 4.1.4, 4.1.5, 4.1.7, and 4.1.9).

4.2 Finding Kuruma community as participants: Unavoidable elements of oppression

As I learned from Freire (2000), sampling process and finding participants should take the form of negotiation. My plan was to work with a cross-section of the Adivasi community in dialogue with acquaintances. This section examines the following questions (Sub-aim Two; Section 4.1.4) to address the limitations of using participatory/problem-posing approaches to find participants.

- How did my methods to find participants unavoidably re-enforce oppression?
- How did the participants resist oppression?

Freire (2000:96) writes of the importance of rejecting the banking model:

> We must never merely discourse on the present situation, must never provide the people with programs, which have little or nothing to do with their own preoccupations, doubts, hopes, and fears—programmes which at times in fact increase the fears of the oppressed consciousness.

Freire reminds us of the oppressive tendencies of community work with banking model, so I tried as much as possible to get input from people living around Southern Wayanad. When I reached Edakkal in the middle of September 2013, I had an unscheduled meeting with both the Panchayat and Kudumbashree leaders. I found the meeting leader simultaneously patronising and empathetic in finding Paniya community as participants:

> My opinion is (sic) Syam should select the Paniya community, because they are the most *backward*; they are *under water* (sic); they defecate on the road and tell us… 'I let you clear my poo (sic)'. But, they are poor; they need to be taken care of. (Thomas, Standing Committee chairperson, Initial meeting, 19.09.13)

Although sympathetic to the Paniya community, Thomas called them drunkards ('under water'). The president and the chairperson disagreed: the chairperson said, 'It is difficult to talk with them and explain everything suddenly. Moreover, they would not communicate well; they would be reluctant to participate,' (Initial meeting, 19.09.13). Renjini suggested members within the Kuruma communities, since she and many Kudumbashree members belonged to the same community. The CDS chairperson's comments validated my reflection on communication barriers in forming dialogue with the Paniya community (see Section 4.1.2). Her narratives further revealed that people resist dehumanising and patronising models of meetings. The president suggested a cross-section of the Adivasi population: two Paniya, two Kattunaikka, and two Kuruma in the first meeting (19.09.13). However, only members of the Kuruma community were accepted as participants in subsequent meetings (23.09.13 and 24.09.13).

These processes of finding participants enabled me to validate similar forms of selection with banking natures in local political party committees (see Table Ten, p 127; Sections 5.1 and 5.2). Considering Freire (2000), I accessed the field with my acquaintance to reflect on people's aspirations. However, I discovered that acquaintances could act as patrons contributing to oppression. My experience of conducting initial meetings and finding participants provided me with richer insights to cross-check and validate my empirical findings: banking and problem-posing education models interact together similarly in the way leaders conduct meetings, especially by patronising and forming empathy simultaneously with members (see Table Nine, p126; Section 5.1).

My initial dialogues with the president, CDS chairperson and Standing Committee chairperson of Edakkal Panchayat (19.09.13), and potential participants (23.09.13 and 24.09.13), facilitated me to shift my focus to the Kuruma community alone for the following reasons. First,the Kuruma community forms a majority in Edakkal Panchayat. Second, both the president and the chairperson belonged to this community. Third, I found similarities between my own community and the Kuruma community. Among the Kuruma community, most lived in thatched or tiled houses similar to my own; I rarely found someone living in a hut, as the Paniya or a Kattunaikka

did. Rajan's son was a lecturer who had just completed his PhD; Sumesh's brothers had lived in Dubai; and Shobha's daughter had completed her nursing training. Most community members I met were fluent in Malayalam as well as their own dialect. Other Adivasi communities, like the Paniya and Kattunaikka, have yet to experience such lifestyle changes, and they predominantly speak their own dialects.

Freire (2000) argues that revolutionary educators might contribute to cultural invasion unless they reflect the needs of people. He adds that this is because they are conditioned by the myths of the previous order. However, Freire hardly admits that his own research was not exceptional in reinforcing cultural invasion and banking education. Besides, he does not point out to what extent problem-posing models can be unintentionally oppressive. This is significant when the researcher and participants belong to a complex, stratified society. So, I explored how the researcher and participants reinforce dichotomy, albeit paradoxically.

As discussed in Section 4.1.2, language was a barrier for me to communicate with the Paniya community. In contrast, common experiences helped me to form mutual relationships with members within the Kuruma community, who became my *formal* participants. If I had worked with other communities such as the Paniya, Kattunaikka, and Urali, I would have qualified a privileged position that would have marginalised them. However, the non-Kuruma community did become *informal* participants in my research.

4.3 Identifying the struggle of initial meetings: Being silencing and being silenced

This section particularly draws on my experiences of silencing the participants and being silenced by participants in fieldwork meetings. First, this section discloses how the initial process of finding Kudumbashree member as participants became banking, despite taking precautions. The section goes on to explore the complexities of introducing Freire in meetings.

4.3.1 Unavoidable nature of banking approach in accepting Kudumbashree members as participants

According to Freire (1978; 2000; 2005), the researcher should never force participation, but should negotiate it. But Freire does not emphasise how the researcher and participants marginalise each other during negotiation. I found this to be unavoidable in research. This section explores the following issues (Sub-aim Two and Section 4.1.5).

- How did my methods to find Kudumbashree members as participants fall into banking mode?
- How did the Kudumbashree members resist these meetings with banking model?
- How did the Kudumbashree members marginalise my meetings in silence?

As discussed in Sections 4.1.4 and 4.2, the CDS chairperson suggested only the Kuruma community as participants; the CDS chairperson and I invited members from other Adivasi communities to join, but they seemed to decline our request. Our negotiations to find participants were silencing due to existing struggles between Kudumbashree and local political party leaders (see Chapter Five). Oppression is unavoidable in problem-posing research when researchers force participation. As I learned from Freire (1994; 2000), the teacher-researcher/student-participants dichotomy should disappear in problem-posing models, otherwise, they do not form true dialogue and praxis.

Despite taking precautions, my initial process of finding participants became banking and thus silenced the participants. ‘I look forward to working with eight to ten participants. It is up to you, who else would like to become the participants,’ (Syam, Initial meeting, 23.09.13). However, there was complete silence for a while. The chairperson then said, ‘Can I nominate some of you?’ Some members nodded, some just looked at her without expressing anything, and some said ‘Okay and let us see.’ These communications between the chairperson and the members reflect Freire’s (2000) culture of silence. When I raised the silencing nature of these meetings, the chairperson countered that people would not join by themselves (see Section 5.2).

In the initial meeting, the members debated the chairperson's attempts to nominate them as participants (23.09.13). One member replied straight away, 'I cannot. I am busy.' Another said, 'I have work and I am not free for the whole eight weeks.' The four NHG participants joined as participants were not there when I visited their homes to continue my initial dialogue (24.09.13). Sumesh said, 'They do not have a habit of keeping a diary; so they might have forgotten' (Informal dialogue, 24.09.13). Another day (27.09.13), one participant walked away when she saw me.

When I shared my concerns, Deepthi said, 'I do not think they are going to turn up,' (One-to-one dialogue, 29.09.13). In this way, the nominees seemed to *silently* withdraw. Consequently, I accepted more members as participants after forming informal dialogues. In the end, I had nine participants to work with me. Although the CDS person nominated some members as participants, some of these members silently marginalised my fieldwork. So, I tried to minimise the possibilities of reinforcing their silence in subsequent meetings.

4.3.2 The complexities of introducing Freire and speaking in meetings

Advocates of participatory research emphasise the importance of co-production, but they rarely elaborate on the analogy between problem-posing education and research. I wanted to pose Freire's (2000) theories to the participants, as a problem-posing researcher (see Table Two). This section explains my struggle introducing *complex* theories to address the following questions (Sub-aims One and Two; Sections 4.1.5 and 4.1.9):

- How did I introduce Freire in meetings, while minimising silence and narration sickness?
- How did the participants and I educate each other when forming dialogues?
- How do formal meetings reinforce the oppressor/oppressed dichotomy?
- What are the limitations of formal meetings in speaking with the participants?

I was concerned about my first meeting with potential participants: could I present my thesis from the beginning to the end? I kept reminding myself 'try your best not to form narration sickness, monologue and silence them.' We introduced each other: Who am I? With whom do I live? What am I doing now? During my turn, I introduced myself and explained my commitment with the Kudumbashree Mission. I then presented my project after introducing Freire. Only one member of the neighbourhood group was absent at this meeting (23.09.13).

Another meeting was arranged for members of the Adivasi community (24.09.13), but only two invitees attended. We discussed why the others did not come: 'They might turn up in half an hour time, which is quite usual. If you tell them 2 pm, many of them would turn up around 3,' (Shobha,

24.09.13). Likewise, Sumesh said, 'I have reminded two of them; they just told me that they would come in a minute; but they did not come yet.' Drawing on these narratives, I examined how my meetings reinforced the attendees' existing experience of oppression. This offered me critical insights into the oppressive nature of community work and meetings, and how people marginalise such platforms (see Tables Ten and Twelve, and Section 5.1).

I introduced themes from the literature in meetings (see Table Five, p113). I wanted to overcome banking education, as discussed by Freire (1978; 2000; 2005), while acknowledging that problem-posing education should not simply repeat what was taught previously.

> Not many people arrived today. Some people may … interested but some people … not (sic). I remember a meeting that I organised during my career at a local NGO: I started my speech (it was about decentralisation), one guy walked away after crossing out his name from the attendance sheet. He said, 'I thought you came from the Panchayat,' (Field notes, 18.09.05). This is an example … how research deposits (sic). I wished to discuss decentralisation but this participant did not. From the perspective of Freire, I realise that education and research are alike. My research is about how similar conditions marginalise people like you and me. Therefore, we explore why don't they come? What conditions cause them to do that? (Syam, Initial meeting, 24.09.13)

I became more confident when sharing my experiences, but I struggled to communicate the concepts of banking education, dichotomy, praxis and narration sickness. As Freire (1995; 1998a) illustrates, dialogue should not simply exchange ideas between the researcher and participants: the researcher should be open to reflecting on the existential life of participants, and should speak *with* the participants, but should not speak *for* them (see Section 3.1). So, I introduced Freire's concepts as they related to what the participants shared. My speech still silenced the participants and they made surprised faces and looked at each other and me. Later on, they talked to each other; one of them yawned and blinked without saying anything. These meetings reminded me of how I had behaved in classroom (see Section 2.3.3). So, I stopped talking and asked, 'Have you got something to say to me?' Three participants did not respond, but Shobha said:

> I understand a little bit because we listen to them for the first time. You carry on ... after a few days, it should be okay, I hope ... have things on my mind (sic). But, I do not know how to express them. I like to be a listener. (Initial meeting, 24.09.13)

These reflections prompted me to step back from further silencing the participants, and 'speaking for' and 'speaking about' (Alcoff, 1992; Fielding, 2004) them and their oppression in subsequent meetings. I explored the different meanings of silence beyond false binaries: Shobha showed me

how silence is related to lack of experiences, but is not a consequence of immediate classroom oppression; formal meetings silence people; and people form dialogues using silence. I was also silenced in the above meeting (24.09.13). Rajan arrived very late and looked very serious, with his face towards the floor. He took his seat without looking at anyone. He grabbed my upgrade material and had a quick look through it, which made me nervous. He suddenly raised his face and said 'Can I ask you something if you don't mind?' 'Don't you feel bad,' I replied, 'no problem.' He continued:

> Here… are some mistakes… inside (sic). I am not sure whether I am right. You have written down that the Pathiyar are a scheduled tribe. But they are a scheduled caste. Also, you wrote that the Paniya tribes live in Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu. I don't think so. (Rajan, Initial meeting, 24.09.13)

However, Karimpan suddenly replied to Rajan, 'The Pathiyar are a scheduled caste as you said. But, Paniya *tribes* may be found in the other states as well because we share borders with three states,' (Initial meeting, 24.09.13). I apologised for writing that the Pathiyar were a *tribe*, which was a technical error and thanked him for his feedback. I then read the rest of the list to find out more errors. I found this an appropriate time to introduce Freire's (1998a) notions of mutuality and unfinishedness. I said to Karimpan, 'If I were an Adivasi, I would not have made that mistake. Both the researcher and the participants are experts in their respective fields. Let me tell you a story of my nephew that you may be interested,' (Syam, Initial meeting, 24.09.13). I then explained the narrative of my nephew, and Freire's (1994) game with the peasants in Brazil (see Sections 2.2.2 and 2.2.4). Meanwhile, I shared my earlier dialogues with Sumesh who explained to me the importance of making trenches:

> We make a trench to stop wild animals from crossing the forest boundary. It is a psychological thing. They step back when they see some obstructions in front. (Sumesh, Informal dialogue, 24.09.13)

It was then easy for me to pose the concepts of dichotomy, mutuality, praxis and the unfinishedness with the above narratives. I told the participants, 'I have not heard of trenches (see Figure Nine, p 229) until Sumesh explained to me about them. There is no forest in my village. Your experience of living in the forest has taught me all these things,' (Syam, Initial meeting, 24.09.13). As Macedo (1995) writes, it is difficult to present complex theories in twenty minutes. In other words, talking about Freire's ideas from beginning to end in the same order would potentially oppress the participants. My reflections on the participants' absences in the initial meetings led me to research similar themes in the ADS meeting, avoiding depositing my original questions or silencing them. These experiences provided me with richer data to explore research and meetings as education and oppression (Tables Seven and Eight; Section 5.1).

Freire (2000) inspired me to tell the participants everything about my project to reflect on their existential life. I chose subjects for investigation and refined each question with the participants' informal recommendations. However, it was difficult to make such negotiations with their explicit participation in my initial meetings. The first two meetings were organised to introduce my project, its ethical issues, including mutual benefits, and then to accept people who wished to participate. I had intended three more meetings thereafter. Deepthi responded to this, 'People are forced to attend meetings despite being busy; the absentees get told off,' (Initial meeting, 24.09.13). How could I rearrange meetings without further oppressing them? Sumesh dealt with my concerns:

> Can I make a suggestion? I would call them once again to rearrange our next meetings if you want to. Otherwise, if you come tomorrow, we will together visit their homes and talk to them individually. People are not in the habit of using a diary; they may forget their appointments. (Initial meeting, 24.09.13)

Consequently, I cancelled the remaining meetings, and the next day Sumesh and Binumol volunteered to meet people with me. We first visited Shobha's home where we had a small discussion in a group. We tried the same strategy in our other meetings: we spent approximately twenty to thirty minutes with each participant; if participants were busy, we went back to them later. In this way, I found a unique way to complete my introduction of Freire and my project to the participants.

Freire argues that the researcher should reflect on the experiences of people. Although he addresses the importance of informal meetings, he does not emphasise the way student-participants can marginalise the teacher-researchers. In contrast to Freire (1978; 1994; 2000; 2005), I identified the limitations of the formal meetings that lead participants to marginalise them. Turning back to Section 2.2.1.b, academics in the United States criticised Freire for being hard to read and for having obscure ideas. However, Freire (1985) responded that they should have their own theories and methods when reflecting on these criticisms about problem-posing models. Despite having this experience and knowledge, Freire does not emphasise the limitations of problem-posing models for people participating in the different stages of fieldwork/community development projects. So, I explored these issues while reflecting on how people could resist explicit participation.

Although I re-scheduled my fieldwork as above, the participants still seemed uninterested. Although they did not say much in the initial meetings, a few participants later expressed their

concerns informally: 'I cannot work every single day same as my colleagues,' (Renjini, Informal dialogue, 29.09.13). So, I explained to her that 'this research is not like a job that you must do every day. Each participant may altogether spend no more than one hour per day for just two to three days,' (Syam, Informal dialogue, 29.09.13).

Although I kept reminding them of this, their participation was still far from my expectations. 'Okay, no problem, I am ready, we will co-operate as you wish,' (Deepthi, Initial meeting, 23.09.13). However, she could not keep this commitment. I saw her one day rushing to catch her bus. She told me that she had a sewing class, 'sorry; I will turn up next time,' (Deepthi, Informal dialogue, 24.10.13). Sumesh responded to my concerns with 'everyone will say yes when you invite them. But, if they got some plans, they won't say that in advance,' (One-to-one dialogue, 26.10.13).

I learned from Freire (1994; 2000; 2005) that I should form a mutual relationship with the participants, but Freire does not address the potential of participants to marginalise the researcher in problem-posing research. I explored the idea that mutuality is not fifty-fifty between teacher-researcher and student-participants. For example, sometimes, our field dialogues were more researcher-centred and other times they were more participant-centred. Freire (2000:81) writes of the major requirements for problem-posing model:

> The teacher presents the material to the students for their consideration, and re-considers her earlier considerations as the students express their own. The role of the problem-posing educator is to create, together with the students, the conditions under which knowledge at the level of the *doxa* is superseded by true knowledge, at the level of the *logos.*

When I tried to apply these ideas, the participants neither refused my suggestions nor offered their own. This theme of reluctance of expression was also evident at the annual meeting of the Tribal Co-operative Society: the members of the Society did not bring any agenda to the meeting although they were requested to do so. This behaviour made it difficult for me to reflect on participants' preferences on an explicit level. Consequently, I made the following changes to my fieldwork: to keep the number of meetings to a minimum; to include more willing participants; and to allow participant withdrawal. I had planned twelve meetings altogether: five to introduce my research, four for the dialogical evaluation of meetings, and three for analysing themes. Evaluations were conducted briefly at the end of official meetings. I cancelled the last three introductory meetings and replaced them with home visits. I faced many difficulties in enabling people to participate in the different stages of fieldwork.

Sometimes I could not stop myself from silencing the participants and from being silenced by them in the final evaluation meetings: when I shared my experiences or disclosed my views on oppression, the participants seemed less responsive. I felt that the participants were of a 'Syam, you please talk and I will listen to you' mindset, so sometimes I spoke more, although I did not intend to silence them. In the same way, sometimes I kept listening to the participants when they talked about their myths, exogamous social structure and marriage traditions. The participants and I spoke *for* others sometimes, and *with* others at other times, making our meetings banking as well as problem-posing (see Section 5.1.2.a).

4.4 Struggle and dialogue in meetings

This section discusses the struggle of evaluating my fieldwork dialogically. In addition, it explains how I minimised the oppressive potentials of these meetings in forming dialogues with the participants. Section 4.4.1 elucidates participatory forms of observation and evaluation in connection with oppression. Section 4.4.2 illustrates the participants' critique of my fieldwork and thus Freire's problem-posing models.

4.4.1 Participatory observation/evaluation and oppression

This section discusses how participatory techniques of observation/evaluation can lead to oppression, and how the participants marginalised these methods while answering the following questions (Sub-aim Two; Section 4.1.7):

- How might participatory formation of groups contribute to oppression unavoidably?
- How did the participants marginalise my intended method of forming groups?
- How did the participants form informal groups?

Freire (2000) emphasises that participation should not be a pseudo-action of people, otherwise participants are drawn into the same methods used to oppress them. Many researchers (Angrosino, 2007; Flick, 2009) suggest that the participants' role must be transformed from an observed to an observer. Freire inspires me to avoid a banking monitoring of behaviour. However, my dialogical observation/evaluation unavoidably fell into banking models because the participants seemed to marginalise such methods or be less interested in formal participatory observation and wanted me to perform the tasks that I proposed to them (see Tables Three and Five). However, the participants informally performed their roles as *observers/co-learners* (see Section 3.3.2)*:* that was more obvious in the evaluation meetings when I requested the participants to form groups.

> As we discussed in the initial meeting, it is the time to consolidate our learning experiences; you will be shown some pictures which your colleagues or I have taken. There are some pictures that might offend your religious or political interests. I will show them and please let me know if you have any issues. (Syam, Evaluation meeting, 02.11.13)

Deepthi had already responded to me: 'I know what you mean; I did that one day; we all were given some chart papers to fix them on the wall; I am fine; but I am unsure about others,' (Informal dialogue, 26.10.13). She was right, the participants did not show any interest in forming a group or writing about what they discussed in meetings. When I suggested the participants volunteer, they said, 'you please do it.' In the final evaluation meeting, I asked them to form a group as proposed in Section 3.4.2. Suddenly, Shobha said, 'I don't want to be numbered; don't worry, I will talk,' (Evaluation meeting, 02.11.13). Similarly, Deepthi said, 'Why do we need markers and chart papers, you are recording everything anyway,' (Evaluation meeting, 02.11.13). Likewise, Sumesh said, 'I have the feeling that I am getting ready for a school examination,' (Informal dialogue, 30.10.13). I realised that I was oppressing the participants when applying participatory techniques of evaluation in a banking way.

With these realisations, I decided to avoid forming formal groups. Freire (2000; 2005) does not address the limitations of conducting formal evaluation meetings that reflect people's experiences. He addresses oppression in its dichotomy between the teacher as oppressor and the students as the oppressed. The natural operation of banking education and the way people oppress themselves are seem to be absent in Freire's works. For example, the above narratives show that participants did not communicate much when I introduced Freire and shared certain knowledge and experiences. The participants belonged to the marginalised Adivasi communities that had been outside the caste system that restricted people from accessing formal education. As a consequence, the participants seemed to marginalise any models, even problem-posing models, that they were not used to (see Section 5.4).Therefore, problem-posing models can fall into banking unintentionally. In accordance with this knowledge and experience, I tried to involve the participants in the evaluation process informally: I relied more on my reflective accounts of my actions and fieldwork as a subject and object (see Section 4.1 – 4.1.3, 4.1.6, and 4.1.7 in particular).

The participants seemed to form informal groups in the final evaluation meetings (30.10.13; 02.11.13). For instance, five participants who came on the first day and three participants on the second day shared more or less the same opinion. Nobody was asked to lead a group, however

Rajan and Karimpan seemed to lead *Group One* and Remya seemed to lead *Group Two*. Members of Group One sat on my left, and Group Two sat on my right. There were arguments and negotiations between both groups. This spontaneous formation of informal groups minimised the oppressive tendencies of these evaluation meetings. In other words the participants brought their recommendations while informally performing these tasks, which made my methodology dialogical more than participatory.

Nind (2011) addresses the importance of training people to evaluate their own stories as co-researchers in order to minimise the researcher/participants dichotomy. However, Nind (2011) does not address how such efforts can reinforce the dichotomy and make evaluation meetings banking. Boylorn (2013) suggests observation with multiple observers to ensure mutually, but fails to discuss how increased participation could contribute to oppression. As Freire (2000) argues, if the participants agree to the research and the different stages of fieldwork, the researcher should then call for volunteers. However, Freire does not elaborate on how such participatory methods to minimise oppression themselves become banking methods. Neither did Freire explain if he experienced similar forms of oppression from participants. Freire's ideas are incomplete to understand student-participants as oppressors. So, I explored how participatory analysis in groups became unavoidably less banking and how participants can marginalise or resist such attempts. I thus discovered the false binary relationship between teacher-researcher-oppressor and student-participant-oppressed.Moreover, the participants' lesser responsiveness to taking explicit responsibilities was also related to how they marginalised the formal: it was not always a resistance to my meetings with banking natures, as discussed below.

Informal participation made my informal/dialogical observation less oppressive than formal/participatory observation. The participants and I reflected on each other's behaviour in observation, interviews and evaluation meetings, although a formal dialogical evaluation for them to make suggestions and to critique my work was rather limited and complex (see Section 3.2).

4.4.2 Participants' critique of problem-posing models

This section discusses how the participants informally revisited my intended method of dialogical evaluation of my fieldwork to answer the following questions (Sub-aim Two; Section 4.1.8).

- How did the participants evaluate my fieldwork informally?
- How did the participants critique Freire and his problem-posing model?

Freire (2000) argues that no idea must dominate in genuine dialogue, which should be the action and reflection of all people and their negotiations. Consequently, it informs us of the larger social system shaping our lives (Reynolds, 2011). However, some people may be dominant and others may be shy or silent, and the opinion of one participant may influence others in the group. Chaitin (2008) argues that a participant may be silent while trying to recollect their thoughts, or may restrain themselves from speech due to language barriers. Those with a good command of language may dominate meetings, initiating dialogue in groups and speaking what s/he never said before or listening to what s/he never heard before. Therefore, Chambers (2004) argues that it is important to make the silent speak and the dominant person should be given the role of writing notes to subdue them. However, such actions may reinforce the inherent banking domination of the moderator. Furthermore, there is no praxis, as participants are not given opportunity to be aware of or to negotiate their own marginalising behaviour. As Freire (2000:65) writes, 'it is only when the oppressed find the oppressor out and become involved in the organised struggle for their liberation that they begin to believe in themselves.' My dialogue with Freire (2000) makes me evaluate my behaviour and that of the participants to avoid being oppressor and oppressed. These behaviours are sometimes unavoidable and might hinder the dialogical nature of evaluation meetings. Gawler (2005:32) writes of this:

> At the end of the day, give participants cards of two different colours, e.g. green and red. Ask them to write, using their thick black markers, what went well on the green cards, and what could have been better on the red cards.

This simple exercise should take fifteen to twenty minutes. However, since people may be tired at the end of the day, taking stock of one day can be done in the next. Gawler emphasises the importance of letting participants evaluate the meeting, but not how participatory techniques can lead to oppression making people marginalise such techniques. Gawler's method of evaluation is not comprehensive enough as it should not be conducted in a hurry at the end of fieldwork. For such evaluation to become dialogical, researchers should evaluate participants' behaviour as well as their own, as shown in Table Thirty four.

Table Thirty-four

For the researcher (Syam)	For the participants
What did I learn from the participants and their events?	What did you learn from Syam and his research?
How did I benefit from this research?	How did you and your peers benefit from Syam's research?
How did the Adivasi community participate in this research?	What are the consequences Syam's presence in meetings and events
How did the participants reflect on my knowledge and experience?	How did Syam reflect on your ideas or experiences?

As in Table Thirty-four, I proposed to the participants that I would comment on the behaviour of the members and their participation as a problem-posing researcher. As students in problem-posing education, the participants then could comment on my behaviour and the way I pose themes. This is an original form of dialogical evaluation, which is set aside in conventional observation methods.

In practice, the participants did not want to complete my evaluation forms despite their anonymity being guaranteed, but they later disclosed disagreements regarding Freire and problem-posing or participatory models in informal dialogues. So, I relied more on my reflective journal based on critical incidents when evaluating my fieldwork, the behaviour of participants and myself, the reciprocal consequences of my research (see Section 4.1), and participants' informal responses.

Ritchie and Rigano (2001) interviewed students and teachers in a school in several follow-up meetings. These scholars evaluated their own behaviour as well as that of the participants: sometimes they felt that some participants were defensive or less co-operative; at other times, Ritchie and Rigano felt that they dominated the participants. Nevertheless, both researchers and participants became friendlier after several meetings. Ritchie and Rigano monitored the behaviours of the participants and themselves: this is banking way of *monitoring*, as it is important to know how participants comment on researcher's behaviour formally or informally. Moreover, Ritchie and Rigano do not provide much information about how dialogical evaluation itself contributes to banking models.

In my evaluation meetings, the participants were very flattering when responding to the questions in Table Thirty-four (see p 187): 'You did very well,' (Binumol, 29.10.13); 'Your discussion was helpful,' (Deepthi, 06.10.13); 'Your presentation was so good,' (Remya, 30.10.13). I told these

participants, ‘My research is not exceptional; I would like you to critique my research and raise any issues,’ (Syam, Evaluation meeting, 30.10.13). Although the participants did not criticise me explicitly on these occasions, they shared their thoughts while waiting at bus stops or sitting in coffee houses. Moreover, I received responses through participants’ facial expressions: I went to observe an NHG meeting on the 6th of October, 2013, and a participant giggled: ‘No, nothing… I just thought... how punctual you are,’ (Shobha, 06.10.13). Sumesh responded to this, ‘If people are booked for 3 pm, they would turn up 3.45 pm,’ (see Section 4.1.6).

The final evaluation meetings for discussion and respondent validation were informal gatherings that took place across three different days (29.10.13; 30.10.13; 02.11.13), allowing all participants to attend at least one session. As a problem-posing researcher, I tried to avoid imposing my meetings onto the participants like Kudumbashree meetings are imposed onto them (see Section 5.1). Only six members were available on the first day; but on the final day, all the participants gathered except for one.

The participants’ previous experiences of oppression prompted them to raise related ethical issues: Renjini, the CDS chairperson, did not say much on the telephone when she got my project information sheet, and initially I thought that she was trying to withdraw from the research and was not interested in my fieldwork (see Section 4.1.1). She later said, ‘Somebody came to do some research about Kudumbashree. They did not tell us what was going to be investigated. Indeed, they were media professionals. They reported bad things,’ (Informal dialogue, 20.09.13). Since then, she needed at least a verbal consent from the administrative head to let anyone engage in activities with Kudumbashree members, access neighbourhood groups, or attend Kudumbashree meetings. Other participants had concerns regarding their participation due to similar experiences of oppression. Sumesh himself raised ethical issues involved in the transcription and analysis: ‘People may be concerned about how their stories will appear in your thesis,’ (Informal dialogue, 21.10.13). I replied, ‘Do not worry. I will not write everything without confirming your arguments in follow-up dialogues or evaluation meetings. I will present your story with punctuation but not like a reported event. However, there are some issues with translation,’ (Syam, Informal dialogue, 21.10.13). The participants did not respond to me or raise further questions.

These informal dialogues encouraged me to pose the participants ethical issues with my research. As evident from Freire (2000), the researcher should inform the participants about their nature of

participation before conducting his/her fieldwork, otherwise the mutual relationship between both parties cannot be guaranteed. Other scholars (Lofman *et al.*, 2004; Cohen *et al.,* 2000; Malone, 2003) have also addressed the importance of information sharing with participants before conducting research (see Section 3.5). For me, this process was not limited to the initial meetings but continued throughout the fieldwork while reflecting on the participants' on-going experiences of participation as oppression (see Section 4.1.1).

Through informal dialogues, I familiarised myself with details of the participants' own oppressive meetings and public events. This allowed me to reduce further oppressing the participants, to stop myself from being oppressed, and to uncover participants' perceptions about my research. One day (29.09.13), I visited the workplace of the Kudumbashree members. One member asked me, 'Is just one NHG enough? If all the NHGs are accepted, you know exactly what is going on, don't you?' Similarly, Binumol later said to me, 'Why do not you use some questionnaires so that people could answer them quickly? Do you think you got enough information about our festivals including "Uchal"?' (Informal dialogue, 26.09.13). Likewise, Kannan said:

> When you come next time, could you please visit at least six months; have a word with people of all villages here but not just one. That would give you a lot of information about our tradition, myths and festivals. Somebody did that in the past; they spent a year to finish their fieldwork; they visited every nook and corner of the district. (Informal dialogue, 30.10.13)

Shobha told me:

> I did not realise that you came to teach us. I thought you came to monitor our behaviour. Somebody told me that you came from Delhi. (Informal dialogues, 02.10.13)

Having already been *oppressed* by quantitative research, as shown by the comments above, it took time for the participants to understand the advantages of problem-posing research. However, Rajan rejected the problem-posing model due to practical difficulties as further discussed in Section 5.1.2.a.

The participants' concerns made me share Freire's (1985) responses towards Facundo's criticism of his work (see Section 2.2.1.b) within the final evaluation meetings: Freire suggests that scholars should develop their own theory and methodology when working with people from different empirical contexts. However, he does not emphasise the complexities of applying problem-posing models when the empirical field is already oppressed by the banking mode of research. Besides, he does not address how participants might critique problem-posing education and research despite their submission to banking models. For Freire (2000), people do not develop analytical capabilities with banking education. Although participants display their submission to banking

education and research, they also critique problem-posing models. These ideas have led me to explore how participants experience both models in combination, either explicitly or implicitly (see Chapters Five and Six).

4.5 Communication and narration sickness in interviews

Dialogical interviews minimise the factors leading to narration sickness and teacher-researcher monologue, so I used this approach to share my experiences of oppression and marginalisation with the participants. My initial plan was to share each experience/critical incident in order to explore the questions addressed in earlier chapters, but despite my precautions, my interviews fell into narration sickness, like the leaders' speeches in the events conducted for the Adivasi communities in Southern Wayanad (see Sections 6.3).

This section examines the following questions (Sub-aim Two; Section 4.1.9):

- How did the participants share their experiences without simply reflecting on my critical incidents?
- What stopped the participants and me from sharing certain experiences and knowledge?
- How was each interview unique from each other so as to share our on-going experiences?

Before answering these questions, this section introduces some of the potential struggles that I anticipated before the fieldwork. Freire (2000) argues that a problem-posing researcher must reject marginalising forms of research, should engage in praxis, and should investigate issues beyond the surface level. In research with monitoring natures, researchers are mostly attracted to success and failure is often ignored (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998). Scholars (Bell and Newby, 1977; Gubrium and Silverman, 1989) remark that the researcher or the participant may not share certain experiences in interviews: an interview may be political, influencing its planning, its implementation and even its outcomes. Marshall (1984) argues that similar consequences occur when policy makers or political leaders become participants. As evident from McEvoy (2006) and Arthur (1987), interviewing policy makers, elites and public figures may be challenging as they manipulate or hide facts. Woods (1986:63) writes that 'the same major attributes, revolving around trust, curiosity and unaffectedness are required in interviewing as in other aspects of the research. People will not just talk to someone.' For Solomone (2004), people are more likely to be open when they interact with people who share a similar socio-economic background. Komarovsky (1961:13-14) writes of how gender differences stop male interviewees from talking to a female interviewer:

> The husbands talked easily enough about their jobs, but when the interviewer turned to the marriage relationship, many became noticeably uncomfortable. We don't know whether the husbands would have spoken more freely to a male interviewer.

I did not face that issue in interviewing my female participants, nor did I have similar issues when interviewing participants who were leaders; moreover, political party leaders were not my formal participants, although I formed informal dialogues with one or two members of the Edakkal Panchayat. However, sharing certain experiences, for example, untouchability, was problematic with both male and female participants. Rajan told me, 'My son had experienced caste discrimination in school,' (One-to-one dialogue, 29.09.13), but did not want me to elaborate on these experiences in my thesis; Karimpan said, 'I experienced this in my childhood but not now; everything has changed now,' (One-to-one dialogue, 29.09.13). Deepthi seemed to have reservations in sharing her personal experiences, for example when telling me, 'Some parents and their children are addicted to tobacco and alcohol. My neighbour's deceased husband was a drunkard,' (one-to-one dialogue 29.09.13); Remani told me, 'Okay, you need to approach people within the Paniya, Kattunaikka or Urali communities. I do not belong to those categories,' (Informal dialogue, 06.10.13). Initially, these stories led me to believe that they did not consider themselves as oppressed or marginalised, however, I later realised that I was wrong.

Rajan said, 'They are more marginalised when compared to us. However, it does not mean that we are on the top,' (Evaluation meeting, 29.10.13). I then became aware of prioritising my experiences before sharing them, since some were relevant to some participants but not to others. The participants were able to differentiate their present from their past: they are still marginalised, but they are emerging from their old forms of oppression and marginalisation. As a result, people may not wish to remember their old forms of oppression.

Kapikkadu (2014a) argues that while caste can become a resource for the Brahmins to achieve wealth, for the Dalit and Adivasi community caste becomes an insult. Rajan shared many experiences in one-to-one dialogues, but he did not discuss his personal experiences of untouchability. This became an ethical issue when I reflected on participants' similar stories in evaluation meetings. For example, a reminder of experiences a participant wishes to forget marginalises the participant's efforts to emerge from those experiences. So, I avoided discussing such personal experiences. However, Rajan and Karimpan later confirmed the existence of untouchability in the evaluation meetings. Similarly, Binumol and Remya shared how

untouchability is still practiced within the Adivasi communities while responding to the photographs showing related themes of untouchability (see Section 6.3).

I negotiated my methodology to share my common experiences and knowledge from meetings, minimising the oppressive tendencies of my interviews to a greater extent, but I had no comparable experiences to share when participants discussed their kinship systems and exogamous social structure, so I listened passively to these discussions that were alien to my community's traditions.

For Freire (2000), banking education forms narration sickness and teacher monologue. However, he does not emphasise what stops the teacher and the students from sharing/learning certain experiences in problem-posing models. Moreover, he does not address how both parties together contribute to narration sickness when sharing these experiences. As distinct from Freire, I explored how the experiences of the researcher or the participants could cause narration sickness and monologues when they are irrelevant to the other party. Both parties can deposit their experiences in the same way that banking educators deposit their knowledge. In meetings, politicians and commentators kept reflecting on people's past experiences of caste oppression, but they did not see that the same thing was happening while they were delivering their speeches. I explored how the leaders used the past to marginalise the present, forming narration sickness paradoxically. Freire's concept of problem-posing education encouraged me to avoid filling the participants with my knowledge and experiences. Also, I allowed each participant to dictate the subjects for discussion according to which issues were relevant to them.

Sharing what I learned from the literature could also be problematic – most significantly, when I posed the myth of Dashavathara in its relationship with banking education. As a problem-posing researcher, I discussed the history of caste invasion by reflecting on the incarnations of Lord Vishnu, but the participants did not respond to the incarnations (Initial meeting, 23.09.13). They remained silent on this topic in one-to-one dialogues too. I later saw icons of Vishnu and his incarnations, including Krishna and Rama and female Goddesses such as Lakshmi and Saraswathy in the participants' houses and in the Bamboo Craft building. Although the participants did not discuss those icons much, they helped me to negotiate my methodology to refine the existing mythical traditions of the incarnations of Vishnu. They suggested that I read the Paniya literature (see Sections 6.1 and 6.2), without which I would not have developed my own concept of caste

invasion while extending Freire's cultural invasion: this shows unfinishedness (Freire (1998a) of the term cultural invasion.

Karimpan discussed caste invasion without discussing the myth of Dashavathara. Karimpan's version was about how Kshatriya Kings conquered the local Adivasi areas, which were later renamed by Brahminical icons. The next day, the CDS chairperson gave me a newspaper containing the story of King Mahabali whose land was seized by the Brahmins, a popular oral tradition within the Paniya communities. However, Kerala's mainstream society depicts Mahabali as being pushed down to the underworld by Vamana, the incarnation of Vishnu, and says that it was Lord Vishnu's decision to stop Mahabali from being greedy. Although the former does not refer to Vamana, the Paniya community critique the dominant myth and the conquest of Brahmins over the ancient Kerala society. The Paniya's myth shows their own ability to refine dominant myths rather than adopting them passively.

Reflecting on these critical dialogues, I refined Freire's notions of myth as a monologue that curbs critical consciousness. My informal dialogues with participants and their implicit recommendations facilitated me to refine my dialogical interviews further: I reflected on participants' views without offending their religious beliefs and pushing them to participate in my dialogical interviews. Furthermore, participants' implicit participation and informal dialogues ensured a mutual relationship between the participants and me. For example, the participants posed their own myths in the same way I did, which caused them to review and teach me their critical literature as teacher-researchers (see Section 6.1).

Freire (2005) argues that there are neither teachers nor students, but only moderators and participants in problem-posing education. But there is a possibility for these new roles to form a dichotomy again–with the teacher always the moderator, and the students always the participants–although Freire talks about mutuality and unfinished knowledge of teacher/researchers and student/participants.

For Freire, a problem-posing researcher should not be involved in the process of transferring knowledge, but should reflect on people's unique experiences. This helps the researcher to co-construct innovative knowledge with the participants. These ideas have been very influential in researching certain issues that did not emerge from the literature. As discussed in Section 4.1, exploring meetings as oppression was not my original focus: it emerged from the informal

dialogues and implicit proposals of participants. Furthermore, the implicit participation of participants was important to rearrange one-to-one dialogues and topics of discussion.

Deepthi previously told me that she would be free in the afternoon for one-to-one dialogues. I approached Deepthi for a one-to-one dialogue one afternoon, but she was busy feeding the animals and milking the cow; this continued every morning and afternoon on other days. She told me, 'I do work like this; all my neighbours work from dawn to dusk. However, I find some times to attend meetings. Since you came to me I do not miss my jobs; you please carry on, I will talk,' (One-to-one dialogue, 27.09.13). Therefore, her one-to-one dialogue was more informal than that of the other participants; she shared her experience of attending the events of the Kudumbashree despite being busy. However, she did not have time to participate in follow-up dialogues and to complete listening to her recordings. These one-to-one dialogues were sometimes banking and sometimes problem-posing. My arrival oppressed her because she had work to do, even though she had proposed the time: therefore, she oppressed herself through her busy schedule, even though she did not *feel* that.

Interviews could also reinforce oppression without the knowledge of the researcher or the participants. Freire (2000) discusses the teacher/researcher who oppresses his/her student/participants in banking models. However, he does not address how people might oppress and marginalise themselves. I explored how the participants marginalised themselves and their peers, and how oppression and marginalisation themselves might contribute to banking education in one-to-one and day-to-day dialogues (see Sections 5.1 and 5.4). Consequently, I had to step back: I met with Deepthi on two separate days, and spent only half an hour with her each time; I left many issues closed, but some were discussed in evaluation meetings and this prompted me to avoid oppressing her further. However, my experience of forming one-to-one dialogue with Rajan and Karimpan was completely different.

Karimpan and Rajan are retired. Karimpan is over eighty and Rajan is over sixty. Both are experienced in holding leadership positions and participating in community meetings. I interviewed them five times including follow-up dialogues. Their interviews lasted more than sixty minutes each and they shared a lot when responding to my experiences. They did not want to stop the interviews, although I wanted to. Moreover, every time I met with Karimpan and Rajan, both provided me with new experiences and knowledge. Consequently, I visited both of them more often than I visited the other participants. Our one-to-one dialogues did not always happen as planned, however. I went to Rajan's house one day, but he had gone to the town. Meanwhile, I

met Karimpan coming back from town. ‘I am free now and I met Rajan, he is on his way.’ So, I met Karimpan instead of Rajan. On another occasion, it happened the other way around. They later disclosed to me that it happened accidentally. ‘I went to Mutteel with my wife; we only heard last evening there was an event with free Ayurvedic medicine. We went to collect that,’ (Karimpan, One-to-one dialogue, 29.09.13).

These narratives taught me that dialogue and a problem-posing approach are absent when events are organised for the Adivasi community (see Chapter Five). This sometimes caused the participants not to keep their appointments with me. However, Karimpan and Rajan were flexible to rearrange interviews. So, I interviewed them in turns, making these informal one-to-one dialogues less oppressive. This did not happen regularly in my one-to-one dialogues with the other participants. I formed dialogues with Renjini, Binumol and Remya during the weekends, as they were busy working during the week; Shobha was free most afternoons; Sumesh was available mostly during the day; Kannan was available after 6pm. A formal interview would have been more oppressive and complex for some participants. Consequently, I tried to avoid reinforcing their oppression when agreeing a date and venue, and the frequency of interviews. This form of dialogical interview is different from conventional banking interviews, which are designed to be more or less the same for all *respondents*.

For Freire (1995; 2000; 2005), dialogue is the only way through which the researcher and the participants together express their ways of being: one can truly become oneself when others also become themselves. Applying these ideas, my dialogical interviews took place in two sessions. In the first session, we shared our experiences by reflecting on my original questions. However, we never followed the sequence of themes in my thesis, and I did not discuss themes that were irrelevant to a particular participant’s life, for example, the practice of sati. I showed the pictures in my thesis as a way of posing the themes of oppression and marginalisation. As a consequence, some participants gave me old pictures of their village, wedding events, festivals and so on. I also showed them pictures that I took during the fieldwork in order to avoid forming narration sickness (see Section 4.5).

Freire (2000:85) writes, ‘the pursuit of full humanity, however, cannot be carried out in isolation or individualism, but only in fellowship and solidarity; therefore, it cannot unfold in the antagonistic relations between oppressors and oppressed.’ I tried to avoid reinforcing the oppressive and marginalising tendencies of my interviews due to the differences between the participants and me. So, I left certain issues, for example the oppressive or marginalising

behaviour within the participants, for future research. However, the participants responded to similar experiences of oppression in their formal and informal events. Drawing on these narratives, I explored how the participants considered themselves as oppressed and how they transformed/fell back to their dual consciousness/developed critical consciousness beyond false binaries (see Chapter Seven).

4.6 Ethical issues

In this section, I first discuss informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity. I then explain information sharing with co-learners. Finally, I critically examine the exploitative nature of fieldwork.

4.6.1 Informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity

Lofman *et al.* (2004), Cohen *et al.* (2000) and Malone (2003) argue that informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity are major ethical issues in research. Cooper *et al.* (2004:4) write, 'they were not shown the observation sheet used to record, for each identified information need, the type of sources used and what was done with the information, in case this biased their normal behaviour. Cooper *et al.* explain their own experience of non-participant observation. Before conducting observation, they sought permission from the hospital authority but not from the subjects. This is a violation of the principle of informed consent. The researcher here does not confirm the privacy of the participants. It can thus be threatening.

I sent my participants an invitation (see Appendix Three), and a project information sheet (see Appendix Four) to explain the nature of the research. I included a provisional fieldwork schedule (see Table Thirty-five, p318), and described the role of the participants and their rights. I did not want to alienate them using a foreign language, so I included Malayalam translation. In addition, I discussed my project with potential participants over the phone, and discussed it further with them individually during my initial meeting.

As Wang (2013) emphasises, the researcher cannot completely deal with the issue of confidentiality with pseudonyms. Most participants welcomed using pseudonyms except for one: 'if names are not mentioned … (Sic) then people … do not change mine, otherwise no one would realise my hard work' (Karimpan, Evaluation meeting, 02.11.13). Karimpan's narratives reveal how a pseudonym can marginalise a person's identity and their hard work. So, I have retained Karimpan's original name. Likewise, there may be personal conflicts between the members and the leaders in the neighbourhood meetings. Some members may share experiences with other members, but not with me. The participants gossiped about their fellow-members during one-to-

one dialogues, but although these stories provide critical insights towards oppression within the participant group, I avoided them due to confidentiality considerations (see Sections 3.3.2.a and 7.5). To do otherwise might be oppressive, reinforcing their conflicts rather than encouraging them to form relationships (Freire, 2000).

Getting informed consent (see Appendices Four and Five) was also problematic with regard to some participants. Initially, Shobha seemed to be less interested in signing the consent form: 'Do you really want me to sign?' (Initial meeting, 29.09.13). Indeed, the CDS chairperson had already remarked that participants might refuse to sign due to their fear that they could not withdraw once they signed a document. In the final evaluation meetings, the participants and I discussed the fact that lands of many in the Adivasi community were seized by their landlords after they signed a document without reading it (29.10.13). Therefore, getting informed consent oppressed them to some extent, although I did not intend this. These considerations prompted me to explore how older forms of oppression contribute to the way people oppress or marginalise themselves (see Table Fourteen, p133; Section 5.4).

4.6.2 Information sharing with the participants

Malone (2003:805) writes, 'Most discussions in the literature warn us about how the lack of a participant's understanding of the research methodology puts that participant at risk and makes it difficult to give fully informed consent.' Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) claim that researchers may not provide all information about their research. The participants may not be interested if the researcher tells them explicitly about the research. However, I had a different experience when I spoke to the local NGO in Edakkal about this project. One person asked me:

> What do you mean by that? What do you want to do? I heard about participatory research. I think somebody did that here recently. But, I do not have many details. Anyway, whatever you need just tell me, we will help you. (Telephone conversation, 22.11.12)

As evident from the above, it was sometimes difficult to introduce this project, theoretical concepts and further details of fieldwork. However, Freire (1985) argues that people must have some experience of oppression or working with the oppressed in order to understand his work. Freire reminds us that neither theory nor practice exists on its own. Therefore, I considered my field of research as education to minimise these issues. The participants criticised Freire and his methods informally despite not being familiar with his complex concepts; in addition, some participants revisited these concepts or reframed theories during subsequent meetings (see Section 5.1). This learning from the participants played a crucial role in understanding the oppressive tendencies of my fieldwork and encouraging me to keep revisiting my methods. In

order to minimise the potential concerns of the participants, all information about my fieldwork was communicated to them in advance.

4.6.3 Mutual benefits from the fieldwork

Freire (2000:110) reminds us of the importance of forming mutual trust and informal dialogues with the participants:

> In this meeting, they explain the reason for the investigation, how it is to be carried out, and to what use it will be put; they further explain that the investigation will be impossible without a relation of mutual understanding and trust.

I learned from Freire that I must reflect on the aspirations of people before planning dialogue with them. I am reminded of a conversation with a woman in my village during my MPhil fieldwork (Syamprasad, 2008): 'What would I benefit out of this study? I participated with similar projects before. However, we are yet to receive any changes. When you finish, you may disappear; and somebody would take over.' (Sumathi, one-to-one dialogue, 13.04.06). This woman made this comment when I initially approached her: I thought she was not interested in my project, so I ignored her and looked for other participants.

Stanfield (1994) argues that many research scholars not only get a degree but also get large grants and scholarships. In addition, the researcher very often leaves the participants after the fieldwork. Consequently, many people feel that researchers exploit them to gain financial and academic rewards, and have begun to refuse to take part in academic research. These issues cannot be completely avoided because research can be exploitative or oppressive without the knowledge of the researcher. I provided the participants with food, drink, and met their travel expenses (see Appendix Three) out of my grant to minimise such issues. Freire (1978) argues that people would contribute a lot if they assumed the project as relevant to their life: my research benefitted the participants and me, as we learned from each other's knowledge and stories (see Section 7.2).

4.7 Lessons from fieldwork reflections

Freire's (1994; 1998a; 2000; 2005) concepts of banking and problem-posing models have been influential in viewing research as education as well as oppression. Research is education in the way research is organised in banking/problem-posing ways; research is also educational in that both the researcher and participants learn from each other while sharing experiences and knowledge in an on- going process of dialogue (see Section 4.3.2). However, Freire discusses a dichotomous relationship between teacher and students in banking education, and a mutual relationship in problem-posing education. The dialogical relationships between both parties and between banking and problem-posing models are not apparent in Freire's works.I tried to become a problem-posing researcher while addressing the complexities of applying Freire's educational thoughts into research. I kept observing my behaviour and fieldwork as both a subject and an object, reflecting on relevant critical incidents, and considering the fact that my fieldwork can be unavoidably banking and oppressive for the participants and myself (see Section 4.1). Despite taking precautions, my fieldwork actions fell into banking mode and became oppressive unintentionally when finding people as participants and ensuring their participation in planning the fieldwork and evaluation. I reinforced silence when introducing Freire's themes to the participants and formed narration sickness when sharing certain experiences (see Sections 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, and 4.5).

My experience of fieldwork led me to explore the relationship between participatory methods and oppression. It was difficult for me to ensure people's explicit participation in fieldwork: participants were too busy to attend meetings; they seemed not to be interested in taking formal responsibilities, volunteering for different tasks or evaluating the fieldwork explicitly; and they wanted me to carry out the evaluation tasks (see Sections 4.2 and 4.3). This was linked to the empirical context that was already oppressed by similar sorts of participatory engagement and the way meetings marginalise people and vice-versa.

In addition, the dialogical methodology caused the participants to critique Freire (2000) and his educational models at an implicit level. This in turn helped the participants and me to mutually refine the original focus of this research. I find a dialogical methodology less oppressive than a participatory one because it ensures more opportunities for reflection and negotiation.

Freire (1994; 2000; 2005) encourages me to understand that problem-posing research is participatory because the researcher presents his programme contents to the participants in a tentative way. The students/participants bring their recommendations so that the researcher

revisits his original set of questions. Nevertheless, Freire does not point out how these participatory/problem-posing methods themselves can reinforce the dichotomy between researcher and participants, causing oppression for both parties. In contrast to Freire, I discovered that both the researcher and participants can oppress or marginalise each other in both banking and problem-posing models. Therefore, banking and problem-posing models co-exist in research as in education beyond the false binaries. All these contributions enabled me to refine Freire's methodological insights derived from problem-posing model.

CHAPTER FIVE

MEETINGS AS EDUCATION: BEYOND THE FALSE BINARIES OF OPPRESSION AND MARGINALISATION

My research originally focussed on how non-formal education marginalises the Adivasi community in one Kudumbashree neighbourhood and one Adivasi community organisation, how leaders act as banking/problem-posing teachers, and how members act as students to address the relationship between self-help groups and school. But I revised my aim to explore participants' experiences of oppression and marginalisation both formally and informally (see Chapters One and Four). First, I extended my fieldwork beyond the initial Kudumbashree NHG and community organisation to include: two NHGs, one ADS and one CDS; Annual meeting of Adivasi Co-operative Society; events run by Kudumbashree, religious and non-governmental organisations; and informal gatherings of the Adivasi community. Second, I explored the participants' experiences of oppression along with marginalisation, which was not originally expected. Third, I extended my focus of investigation to a cross-section of the Adivasi population in many Panchayats in Southern Wayanad.

This chapter critically examines meetings as education beyond false binaries. First, this chapter presents 'meetings as education' criticising Freire and how he was ambiguous about the term education. I discovered that education can be understood in two ways: as an approach to how meetings are conducted (in Freire's terms banking or problem-posing), or as a process of learning and teaching (banking, problem-posing or both) within meetings (see Tables Seven and Eight). Second, this chapter revisits Freire's (2000; 2005) banking model as a way of addressing oppression beyond the false binary between patronisation and empathy in meetings. Third, this chapter explores the growth of the SHGs in relation to the false binary between oppression and liberation in meetings. Fourth, this chapter applies Freire's (2000) oppressor/oppressed dichotomy to participants' marginalisation of themselves and problem-posing education meetings. Fifth, this chapter further examines the false binary between silence and dialogue (Freire, 1995; 2000) with regard to engagement in both formal and informal meetings. Sixth, this chapter briefly summarises my learning experiences.

5.1 Meetings as education

Freire's theoretical models can be applied into the area of non-formal education and community work while addressing the relation between meetings and education. Freire (2005) develops the problem-posing education concept outside school. In his book *education for critical consciousness*, Freire (2005:40) writes of his early experience as a coordinator of the adult education project in Recife:

> Instead of a teacher, we had a coordinator; instead of lectures, dialogue; instead of pupils, group participants; instead of alienating syllabi, compact programs that were "broken down" and codified into learning units.

For Freire, ideally there are no teachers or students, only moderators and participants; this model should be free from formal methods of learning and teaching, or a pre-set curriculum. Freire framed this model to deal with the limitations of formal education. However, Freire deemphasizes how education can still be banking outside of school or in non-formal education platforms. Freire employed this model in non-formal adult literacy programmes in his work in Guinea-Bissau (see Section 2.2.1.b). Freire's problem-posing model has been widely applied in out-of-school education programmes in the USA, Africa and Brazil.

Spener (1992) argues that Freire's problem-posing approach is known by different names: psycho-social approach, learner-centred approach, liberatory approach, participatory approach. Many scholars have been influenced by Freire or applied his ideas without realising, mainly in the field of adult literacy. Giroux (1985) argues that Freire's ideas are mistakenly applied in a problem-solving way rather than problem-posing. Freire is recognised as an advocate of non-formal education fulfilling participatory learning goals that cannot be achieved by schools. School education is an apparatus of the state and the rich and it marginalises common people. So, Bowles and Gintis (1976:131,2) emphasise the need for out-of-school education and present the pitfalls of formal education in capitalist America having been influenced by Freire:

> The differential socialization patterns of schools attended by students of different social classes do not arise by accident … [T]hey reflect the fact that the educational objectives and expectations of administrators, teachers, and parents (as well as the responsiveness of students to various patterns of teaching and control) differ for students of different social classes.

Similarly, McLaren (2003) writes of revolutionary educational programmes that transform conventional learning practices outside of schools and make people create their own society. Therefore, education needs to be extended out-of-school. There are non-formal educational programmes initiated by both the Indian and Kerala governments. However, they in no way

employ Freire's problem-posing model. Although educational programmes like SSA utilise Freire's ideas of dialogue, they remain formal and face criticism over implementation (see Section 2.2.1.a). Although there are many community-based organisations and SHGs run by the state, or non-state community-based organisations, Freire's ideas are set aside in their approaches. Freirian scholarship, however, has yet to explore how non-formal/out-of-school education can also oppress and/or marginalise people. So, my attempt was to explore how Freire's concepts of education and oppression similarly operate outside of formal education.

Formal meetings are mainly related to community development programmes initiated by the local government in association with Kudumbashree and NGOs. Informal meetings and events also include social gatherings of the Adivasi community outside of these organisations. The theme 'meetings as education' is explored regarding the way in which such meetings are conducted and the nature of discussions and learning within these meetings (see Tables Seven-to-Ten, pp 125-134)

This section explores how different features of both banking and problem-posing education can critically and contextually be understood in meetings and the process of education within them. Here, I do not simply mean the broader definitions of education as formal, non-formal or informal.[6] Likewise, I do not focus on informal education as socialisation. Nor do I always discuss education as a formal way of learning and teaching because formal classroom-like discussion occurs significantly less in NHG meetings. Although there were some formal discussions in ADS and CDS meetings, data were insufficient to explore the formal nature of 'learning and teaching'. Furthermore, discussions in informal meetings were incomplete and I was unable to observe informal meetings (including informal discussions before, after and in breaks around formal meetings) in one location more than once despite encountering re-current themes. However, I managed to explore questions relating to education as 'learning and teaching' in my fieldwork meetings with the participants (see Section 4.1.1). My evaluation meetings with the participants

[6]Education today is generally classified as formal, non-formal and informal. For Coombs and Ahmed (1973), formal education is institution-based, chronologically graded having a hierarchical structure; Non-formal education is an ambiguous term having no clear definition, but it is external to formal education, which is normally run by organisations; Informal education is a type of socialisation or a lifelong process through which individuals acquire knowledge from their day-to-day life, with family and peer groups acting as important agents of informal socialisation. However, there is a co-existence between all the three forms of education. Informal and non-formal forms of learning take place within schools: children learn from their teachers and fellow students during their informal communications; PTA meetings are examples of non-formal education.

similarly reflect the way the participants and I learned and taught each other (see Table Eight, p124).

5.1.1 Banking/problem-posing education approaches to conducting meetings and community work

This section discusses the theme of meetings as educationin regard to how meetings and community work are conducted as banking, problem-posing or both; the preparation for meetings, including finding participants/beneficiaries; time, venue, and frequency of meetings; type of invitation; and involvement in planning. Bothmeetings and community workinclude elements of problem-posing and banking, in the way learning took place, the types of discussion, and the communication and dialogue between and members (see Tables Eight, p124; Nine, p 126; Ten, p127 and Section 4.1).

The procedure of finding participants was somewhat banking, although this was not intended. Participants said that this was typical for the beneficiary selection in a community development project or candidate selection in a political party. These meetings intended to be problem-posing to include a cross-section of the population; but people seemed to marginalise meetings. In the same way, my evaluation meetings reflected both banking and problem-posing features. Importantly, the participants were already oppressed or marginalised by pseudo-participatory projects. These findings reflect how banking/problem-posing models operate in the way meetings are conducted (see Table Nine, p126).

5.1.2 Banking/problem-posing education as 'learning and teaching' within fieldwork meetings

As evident from my reflective journal, my meetings were problem-posing: I tried to make the discussions in one meeting different from another, so that one meeting was not a simple repetition of the previous ones, an essential requirement of Freire's problem-posing education. However, these meetings also reflected some features of banking education as both the participants and I unintentionally silenced each other while teaching and learning from each other (see Table Eight, p124; Section 4.1.2.b).

Additionally, the meetings were problem-posing because they made the participants and I become aware of our unfinishedness: this is similar to the game between Freire and his participants. On the one hand, I was unfamiliar with the term *trench* until I formed dialogue with Sumesh; similarly, Rajan spotted on some technical errors regarding the name of many Adivasi and non-Adivasi communities in the index. On the other hand, the participants seemed to be struggling to understand Freire's theoretical models that I posed in these meetings. Although my

speech became a monologue, and sometimes formed silence and narration sickness in the initial meeting, it became dialogical when participants later addressed or critiqued Freire's concepts. My one-to-one meetings were not exceptional in forming silence and narration sickness: again, we learned each other's dialects in one-to-one and evaluation meetings.

Similarly, our discussions about the Paniya literature explored how myths can be dialogical and educational. Again, these discussions made the participants and myself aware of our unfinished knowledge. It made me further reread Freire's idea of cultural invasion and later develop my own concept of 'caste invasion'; the participants were informally involved in the process of reviewing literature and thus teaching me about similar forms of invasion and conquest in Southern Wayanad. I taught the participants Freire's idea of cultural invasion in connection with banking education; myth and monologue (see Section 6.1), and they were involved in refining the themes I posed in evaluation meetings, although this process was not comprehensive, as discussed below.

5.1.2.a Talking back to Foucault and learning from the participants: power as amoeba and people as chameleons

In one-to-one and evaluation meetings, the participants and I discussed: how meetings are simultaneously banking as well as problem-posing; to what extent community work and development projects liberate and oppress/marginalise people in Southern Wayanad; and how people marginalise meetings with banking/problem-posing models. Drawing on Foucault (1980), I reminded participants of the shift in the nature of oppression (see Appendix Two):

> As we discussed before people do not necessarily execute power explicitly by force; because they could execute oppression more implicitly than before. Historically, they would have used force to occupy our land. But, now they got it in the name of Vivekananda,' (Syam, Evaluation meeting, 02.11.13).

The participants seemed to be silent listeners when I reflected on Foucault's ideas of disciplinary power in relation to caste, so I spoke more than the participants on such occasions; similarly, there were occasions where participants spoke more than me (see Sections 4.3.2). However, when discussing the reasons for the occurrence of caste invasion at the local level, Sumesh and Rajan said: 'oppression changes its shapes' (One-to-one dialogues, 29.09.13 and Evaluation meeting, 29.10.13). These participants further elaborated on their thoughts to produce metaphors in connection with Foucault's ideas of disciplinary power. For instance, when I discussed caste invasion in connection with Foucault, Sumesh asked me: 'Is not like amoeba that we were taught in the school? Or like a chameleon?' (Evaluation meeting, 30.10.13). Other

participants then seemed to be interested, but did not comment. I responded to Sumesh's metaphor:

> Yes, Sumesh, thank you very much for bringing them up. I do remember about amoeba having the ability to change its shape to catch food. Oppression will change its forms and take new shapes as it goes like amoeba or a chameleon. (Syam, Evaluation meeting 30.10.13)

Rajan then added: 'Hmmm... I know… sometimes, people's behaviour is unpredictable as they change like a chameleon. This is the reason why we cannot see or fight oppression.' I continued: 'Yes of course, we find many people every day, we work with many people every day. They may be your friends or enemies but you never know due to this paradoxical operation of oppression and flow of power in multiple directions,' (Evaluation meeting 30.10.13). With the metaphors of amoeba and chameleon, the participants reframed Foucault's idea of disciplinary power having no definite centre, acting upon everyone and acting upon everywhere in society (see Table Twenty-nine, p142).

Discussing Foucault seemed to be banking at first, as participants did not reflect on my comments, but it became problem-posing with metaphors enabling us to co-construct knowledge about caste invasion in new forms. Our co-construction of knowledge sometimes followed this pattern. I also became silent while listening to Rajan's critique of Freire and his problem-posing models (see Section 4.2.2): 'Students do not get marks or certificates if they reflect on their life. Our only option is to accept the education system of the upper castes,' (Rajan, Evaluation meeting, 30.10.13). For Rajan, upper caste teachers do not give marginalised students enough marks in practical examinations. I was silent while listening to his criticism that day because I did not know how to respond, but at the next meeting I did: 'I learned from Rajan that teachers in problem-posing education could be more powerful than those in banking models due to the teachers' increased autonomy in continuous internal evaluation of students' performances,' (Syam, Evaluation meeting, 02.11.13).

The conclusion that emerged from these dialogues was that problem-posing practices could be a means of oppression, just like banking. Sometimes our dialogues were not sequenced, just like participants' informal meetings, however, recordings show that conclusions already emerged occasionally. However, these conclusions needed to be placed in logical sequences and grouped into chapters. These experiences supplemented my initial idea of research as an on-going process of education that made both banking and problem-posing go hand in hand. I introduced the ideas of Foucault and Freire, and the participants educated me into rethinking Foucault and Freire with

the aforementioned metaphors. Likewise, the participants addressed Freirian models, including banking education, in subsequent interviews although they did not immediately respond. So, our field meetings were on-going processes of dialogue having combined both banking and problem-posing models (see Sections 4.1.1 and 4.3).

5.1.2.b Fieldwork meetings as dialogues: between dual and critical consciousness

This section discusses to what extent our meetings encouraged the participants and me to negotiate our original knowledge while reaching points of agreement and disagreement. The participants and I sometimes disagreed with each other when exploring those questions regarding Freire's (1994; 1998a; 1998b; 2000; 2005), ideas of 'dual and critical consciousness' and 'invasion and imitation'. My dialogues with the participants made me move away from some of my prejudiced understanding of participants' lives. Originally, I was aware of the need to explore oppression and marginalising education beyond false binaries. However, this was limited to the power, relationship and communication between the teacher and the students; oppressor and oppressed. I did not initially think of exploring meetings as oppression and liberation beyond false binaries. Participants including Renjini, Remya, Binumol and Shobha revealed that they are forced to go to meetings. However, participants such as Renjini and Binumol said that meetings have to be banking otherwise members would marginalise them. These participants' narratives indeed facilitated me to explore the way members oppress and marginalise themselves. So, these participants seemed to be critical despite experiencing oppression.

Despite the oppressive nature of meetings, the participants kept saying that the SHGs brought benefit to them. Karimpan in particular refuted my argument on meetings as banking. This shows the participants' awareness about meetings with banking and problem-posing natures. But their consciousness seems not to be fully critical towards the banking model, and thus their consciousness falls between dual and critical. Participants such as Rajan and Kannan said that meetings are imposed upon them but these meetings bring benefits to them: on the one hand, these participants criticised local politicians for imposing meetings; on the other hand, they criticised members for marginalising meetings. In the same way, these participants also favoured the activities of the Mission and refuted my arguments on caste invasion and marginalisation. Although a few participants initially denied the existence of untouchability, they revisited their views in dialogue with their fellow participants while responding to photographs (Figures twenty-three to twenty-six, p300). These dialogues show that our meetings educated the participants to transform their dual consciousness (see Table Eight,p 124; Section 6.3).

Although participants were fully aware of meetings as banking, they did not have similar awareness of untouchability. This is due to the fact that most of these contemporary forms of oppression are justified on the grounds of technical reasons. In short, Freire's false binary between the absence and development of critical consciousness are incomplete to explore these complex networks of oppression and marginalisation. Freire admits that the oppressed develop critical consciousness due to the contradictions of banking education. However, he does not consider this as a total development of critical consciousness. Moreover, he simply discusses the dual consciousness of the oppressed rather than their development of critical consciousness even in banking models. Our meeting dialogues show that people simultaneously develop dual and critical consciousness; the participants also have the potential to transform their dual consciousness to critical consciousness beyond banking and problem-posing models. Similarly, all of these meetings and dialogues enabled me to refine myself as an educator, as a researcher and as a fellow-learner with the participants (see Chapters Five and Six).

5.1.2.c Education as learning and teaching in participants' formal and informal meetings

Studies (John, 2009; Devika *et al*, 2007) have addressed Kudumbashree meetings empowering women's independence and confidence in public speech. In contrast to these scholars, I explored the parallel between meetings and the Freirian models of education considering Kudumbashree or community-based organisations as non-formal education centres. Both 'banking' and 'problem-posing' cannot simply be divided to refer to traditional and modern education respectively. Both education models also need to be considered as an approach or way of looking at the different arenas of human interactions and their impacts over people. Education does not simply mean learning and teaching in schools: education can be extended to family, neighbourhood groups or informal gatherings of people (see Tables Seven-to-Nine)

As evident from Table Seven, the NHG meetings display many elements of learning with both banking and problem-posing education. On the one hand, repetition of meeting minutes, withdrawal from formal discussions, speech shame and communication struggles reflect the banking model. On the other hand, informal discussions about their children's learning experiences in school reveal learning with problem-posing education. Additionally, no separation of seats and cordial conversations seemed to show absence of dichotomy and domination between the leaders and members as in problem-posing education.

In the ADS meetings, the agenda was pre-set, similar to that of the NHG meeting, but there was separation of seats between the leader and the members. The members were told off and

threatened to be charged by the president for their absence. These findings reflect elements of banking education. Although there was a formal discussion about drinking habits of the Adivasi community there was no particular reference to the issues that the participants shared during interviews. The main discussion was about members' absence in meetings and meetings with banking natures. The president's speech reflects both elements of patronisation and empathy. One member seemed to question the authority of the ADS president and the ward, and she also criticised that meeting details are not properly communicated causing low or negligible attendance. This shows how members challenge meetings with a banking model and the domination of the leaders, although sporadically. Members' experience of education appeared to be problem-posing to some extent, as I found that members were not restricted from talking or making criticisms. However, most members seemed to be silent like the NHG members while these arguments were on-going. Moreover, these meeting discussions gave me more data about how Kudumbashree meetings and events in general are oppressive and how people are forced to attend meetings and thus how meetings are conducted in a banking way. While the president seemed to tell the members off, showing the elements of dichotomy and domination, she also expressed her inability to minimise the oppressive nature of meetings, thus showing her empathy with her members. Linking these data with Freire, I came to know that her behaviour falls between patronisation and empathy in the same way as this meeting reflected both features of banking and problem-posing.

The agenda of the CDS meeting was not much different. There was separation of seats, like the ADS, and the meeting discussions did not reflect on participants' day-to-day issues much. However, there was a discussion about why there was discrimination in distributing clothes for members to put on the special event of Onam. The leader apologised for what happened. One member seemed to insult the chairpersonpersonally: the chairperson belonged to the Adivasi community, and she appeared to be insulted by her member who belongs to the general community. I then connected this data back to the episode in Section 2.3: Freire's ideas are insufficient to know how the teacher-student dichotomy operates if the teacher belongs to the oppressed community and the students belong to the oppressor community. I thus found that both terms are ambiguous in connection with banking education in meetings.

However, when I compared the NHG and ADS meetings, neither the chairperson nor the members seemed to be shy or to have communication struggles at all. I put these data with Freire's idea of the oppressor/oppressed dichotomy: there was no such apparent dichotomy between the chairperson and the members. However, I found that those two members seemed to oppress the

chairperson. I then compared these data with the communications between the leader and the members in the CDS and ADS meetings. I discovered points of similarities and differences between these meetings, making me further explore the false binary between the leader-oppressor and the member-oppressed. Themes of shyness, communication and struggle in these meetings and my fieldwork meetings were put together with Freire's dichotomy between classroom silence and dialogue. Similarly, I found a false binary between silence and dialogue in these meetings. When I presented these data to the participants for respondent validation, I explored why and how formal meetings silence people, and the way people marginalise the formal. Members' silence may be related to the way they silence themselves or the way they are silenced by society, not always due to immediate classroom domination or dichotomy. These findings also challenged Freire's explanations about the reasons for silence (see Section 5.5).

My next attempt was to link these data with that of the Adivasi Co-operative Society meeting and other public events in Southern Wayanad. The Adivasi Co-operative Society meeting was different in terms of internal discussion and the way the meeting was conducted. Unlike Kudumbashree meetings, the meeting agenda of the Adivasi Co-operative Society had been published two weeks before. Meeting notice shows that members have opportunities to bring their agenda: that reflects a problem-posing approach to conducting meetings. However, there was not much difference between the procedures of these meetings and Kudumbashree: meetings started with a prayer song, the secretary read the annual expenditure details, and the president discussed the contributions of their ancestors and the role played by the society in dealing with caste oppression and inequality over time. However, there was no discussion about on-going forms of oppression and marginalisation. When linking these data with Freire, I found it as a new way of forming narration sickness, as commonly found in the leaders' talks in public events. Although there were more apparent signs of a problem-posing model in the way this meeting was conducted, the discussion in the meeting had yet to become problem-posing. This is because the members did not bring their issues despite being asked.

A similar episode is evident from the Thozhilurappu work site: members did not use any safety equipment when working inside the trench. Provision of safety equipment reflects a problem-posing way in which projects and events are implemented. I then put these data with that of the Adivasi Co-operative Society meeting where members seemed to withdraw from opportunities, reflecting how people marginalise their own opportunities. Similar theme emerged from my reflections on fieldwork meetings. Participants' narratives regarding low attendance and people's self-oppressing tendencies were put together with Freire's ideas of banking education and

oppression: this showed how previous experience of marginalisation prompts people to marginalise meetings and thus their own opportunities by forming their own banking education.

The leaders' speeches in public meetings did not seem to reflect on the on-going experiences of caste oppression, although they reflected on past experiences in connection with the contributions of their ancestors. The meeting of the Adivasi Co-operative Society was not exceptional. In their speech, the leaders seem to justify their organisational goals or the increased growth of SHGs.

In public events, gaps between seats among the audience and partiality in serving food or drinks were apparent: that seemed to be marginalised or ignored in the leaders' talk. I then presented these data to the participants with relevant photographs and we reached consensus regarding the marginal discussion about marginalisation in meetings. I then linked these mixed data with Freire: that demonstrated the false dichotomy between narration sickness and communication. Differently from Freire, I discovered that the leaders still form narration sickness and myths although they reflect on the lived realities of people. In other words, leaders' speeches simultaneously contribute to both communication and narration sickness. While executing that dual role of being banking and problem-posing educators in meetings and events, the oppressor justifies on-going forms of marginalisation and thus executes caste oppression in new forms.

The SC/ST awareness class seemed to be entirely different from the aforementioned meetings: the trainer was in his official suit and coat; he walked to the stage without looking anyone; he seemed to be very serious and angry at times. All participants stood up to show respect. He sometimes pointed fingers to stop the participants from talking and encourage them to listen to his conversation. The participants did not have any opportunity to raise questions. I then refreshed my memories of school days where I was supposed to be obedient or disciplined in my classroom. This awareness class was a real reflection of traditional banking education classroom. On the one hand, the class itself was banking because there was a stage announcement saying that all ST prompters should attend this meeting. On the other hand, the way the trainer, a retired judge, delivered the class was exclusively banking and silencing. This was evident from his dominant gestures, body language and his frequent attempts to alert participants who seemed to be fallen asleep. Despite being a member of the marginalised community, he seemed to silence his own marginalised peers. Again, I linked this episode with Freire's oppressor/oppressed dichotomy. Although, Freire talks about the oppressed as sub-oppressors, his ideas are vague to explore the issue of dichotomy, silence and domination regarding the communication between leaders and members having common or different caste identities. Freire mostly discusses

knowledge as banking but rarely discusses how platforms of knowledge themselves can be banking, problem-posing or both. However, the trainer reflected on some of the atrocities perpetrated against the marginalised community as the title states; therefore, the way this awareness meeting is conducted is problem-posing as the title reflects on the issues of the marginalised.

5.2. Meetings as oppression and marginalisation of meetings: between patronisation and empathy

Freire (2000; 2005) discusses the banking model by referring to the communication between two opposite classes: in classrooms, it is between the teacher and the students; in a family, it is between husband and wife or parents and children. Banking models of learning take place within neighbourhood groups, family and informal gatherings. This section refines Freire's concept of the banking model and fills the gaps in the literature on Kudumbashree SHGs in Kerala, Wayanad (see Tables Eleven, p129; Twelve, p130; Fourteen, p 133). This section answers the following questions (Sub Aim Three; see Sections 2.1; 2.3) with regard to the engagement of Kudumbashree women with local political parties and elected representatives in Southern:

- How do meetings themselves become banking?
- How do members marginalise banking education meetings?

Figure Eight
ADS meeting

The secretary sets the table for the leaders and chairs for the members before the ADS meeting(01.10.13). The ADS secretary and one member have an arguement about their Thozhilurappu project

I was told by the member to charge a fine of twenty five rupees from absentees. Why did you not turn up to the Onam market? Did you just come to collect the 50 rupees allowance, which you have pooled? Some of you did not even bother to collect that. The same happened at the rally. You cannot make the excuse that you did not have any prior information. You do not have to respect me... or us. You should at least respect the ward member. These events are arranged for you, not for me or them (Rajamma, the president- observation of ADS meeting, 01.10.13).

A summary of dialogue between the president and a member is given in Figure Eight. The ADS president discussed the low participation in the Onam market. The Panchayat initiates this event for Kudumbashree members and they are compelled to bring goods but two NHGs did not bring any. One member responded to the president's allegations:

> First, everything should be communicated properly and it is the ward member who should take this initiative. Second, we do not get anything from these meetings. Third, people do not attend events when they are busy (Omana, NHG member, ADS meeting, 01.10.13).

This member also raised some allegations with the ADS president: 'We have been allocated the most difficult job in Thozhilurappu but not the rest of them. I wanted to speak to the ward member. He did not come today. Then, why are you going on about absence?' The president said that the ward member was busy and she apologised for the ward member's absence. She then continued her previous conversation about absence: 'People do not ignore events for no reason; everything was communicated so that the ward member cannot be blamed; people would have definitely come if they wanted some information about benefits,' (Rajamma, the president, ADS meeting, 01.10.13). The leaders or the members rarely have a say in such events; they should simply follow the Panchayat's instructions.

This ADS meeting taught me to explore the banking nature of events and the absence of dialogue in implementing projects: the president's speech reflects the way teachers communicate in traditional classrooms, and additionally she adopts a parental attitude towards her members when talking of their absence. She kept saying to them that events are organised on behalf of the members. She added that she could not help herself to negotiate the needs of their members as the Panchayat decided everything. These arguments revisit Freire's (1994, 1998a; 2000; 2005) notions of the teacher-oppressor/student-oppressed dichotomy. Freire addresses banking education as patronisation but he does not point out how people challenge patronisation within their oppressive social structure. Unlike Freire, the argument between the leader and member in the ADS meeting displays how they both act as oppressor and oppressed and how they contribute to both banking and problem-posing education in meetings simultaneously; moreover, the member's dialogue shows her ability to challenge the patronising approach of the president. Scholars like John (2009) discussed this compulsory nature of meetings and members' decreased level of spirit, but they reach some sweeping conclusions rather than elaborating their contributions to banking/problem-posing models. Drawing on these findings, I shared my learning experience when I played the audiotapes of ADS meetings within one-to-one dialogues and

evaluation meetings. Renjini, the CDS chairperson, responded that the 'local politicians control Kudumbashree's election; they force people to become candidates. Only an *ST* woman can be the candidate for the post of chairperson. So, the MLA has nominated my name,' (One-to-one dialogue, 02.10.13).

The chairperson admitted that Kudumbashree leaders sometimes force people to attend meetings and events. Some members think that they are obliged to attend meetings for these leaders and local politicians: first, Kudumbashree leaders are nominated by the local politicians; second, the local politicians and elected representatives would no longer co-operate if Kudumbashree leaders did not follow their instructions. The chairperson also admitted that her own NHG meetings are not exceptional. For example, she too followed a banking style when finding participants in initial meetings:

> But, I did not intend that; otherwise, they would not join by themselves. Both political parties and Kudumbashree mutually benefit from these events. Political parties offer them false promises that tempt people to join. Members would eventually withdraw once they realised that it was not worthwhile (Renjini, CDS chairperson, Evaluation meeting, 02.11.13).

As evident from CDS chairperson, meetings became banking because otherwise members would marginalise meetings. Just like the CDS chairperson, many participants told me: 'They joined me up to the beneficiary group,' (Shobha, One-to-one dialogue, 24.09.13); 'They made me the co-ordinator,' (Remya, One-to-one dialogue, 22.09.13). However, they rarely said 'I joined' or 'I wished to join.' Chapter Four addresses people's participation in my research and the relation between participatory research and oppression: for example my initial process of finding participants was banking. These reflections facilitated me to explore their participation in the Kudumbashree meetings with banking natures (see Tables Eight to Ten, pp124-127).

Freire (2000) raises concerns over the development programmes that might lead to cultural invasion. Nevertheless, he does not fully address the limitations of his own problem-posing models: how they could potentially reinforce dichotomy, domination or patronisation as well as banking models. In contrast to Freire, I examined the oppressive tendencies of formal meetings in connection with people's participation. Freire reduces the oppressed to simple followers of the oppressor's prescriptions rather than considering the way the oppressed refute these prescriptions within banking models. On the contrary, I investigated how meetings themselves

become prescriptive for the members; how meetings mutually benefit the leaders and members; and how the members marginalise themselves in return (see Tables Nine and Ten, pp 126-127).

Although political parties impose their decisions on to Kudumbashree leaders and members the decisions made by the party leaders benefit Kudumbashree members to some extent. The Kudumbashree members think that they are obliged to mobilise people and arrange events for the political parties. For the chairperson, meetings and events *mutually* benefit the local self-government and the Kudumbashree. The Kudumbashree leaders follow the instructions of the Panchayat/political parties because they get 'something' in return. As John (2009) illustrates, this oppression exists due to the fact that the local politicians consider the Kudumbashree as an alternative power centre or their sub-system. Additionally, the Panchayat Standing Committee monitor the Kudumbashree. The Kudumbashree leaders thus oppress their members in the same way that they are oppressed by local politicians and elected representatives. Similarly, Kannan argued:

> How many events and programmes took place in the last week? I do not even remember that. They would just tell these women to mobilise one or two members from each neighbourhood group. They just want to demonstrate their strength and ensure participation. Also, they want to compete with other parties as well by making no differences (Kannan, Evaluation meeting, 02.11.13).

These stories taught me that most meetings and events do not make any difference to the previous ones. Similarly, Shobha argued, 'People should attend the Gramasabha (the meeting of all eligible voters in a ward); at the meetings of the KarshakSangh (Agriculture Society) for farmers, subsidies are announced or distributed. They do not get benefits unless they attend such meetings; Adivasi people should additionally attend Oorukoottams just before the Gramasabhas,' (One-to-one dialogue, 26.09.13). Scholars, for example Williams *et al.* (2011), are least concerned about these meetings with banking natures in connection with the increased growth of neighbourhood groups; on the contrary, these scholars consider the growth of neighbourhood groups as positive, rather than looking at their educational roles. I learned from Kannan about the way the aforementioned meetings are banking, due to the uncertain event times and attendance numbers. Consequently, the members of the SHGs and community organisations find it hard to prioritise one or two out of many events. For him, the number of meetings shows the political party leaders' strength numerically?

From the perspective of Freire (2000), such attempts to form more NHGs and to increase participation serve the interests of the oppressor. As discussed in Section 2.1, Freire's analysis of oppression rarely went beyond the economic class, rather than caste-or gender. Although there is limited focus on the question of identity, I identified how policy makers make use of such differences to impose meetings onto people by imitating the development goals of their oppressor colleagues.

My experience of researching events prompted me to explore the following. Many SHGs have been formed for *dealing with* oppression of people with different identities: women, the Adivasi and agricultural labourers. An Adivasi has to attend many meetings and events run by the Kudumbashree, local governments and NGOs. The leaders, policy makers and meeting organisers claim that they safeguard their members' interests. However, meetings have become a space for discussing benefits and developing projects. Moreover, members should be active participants and should take some responsibilities. As a consequence, the Adivasi community avoid bringing their unique issues to meetings by themselves; therefore, the Adivasi community are marginalised by themselves in their already marginalised lives. Drawing on these issues, I stated to the participants:

> Kudumbashree members are punished just like the students in banking education schools. I used to receive a fine or stay out of the classroom if I had any fee outstanding. Prolonged influence of banking education inherited from school and family makes the leaders oppress their members in the same way as the school authorities do. (Syam, Evaluation meeting, 02.11.13)

Linking our shared stories back to Freire (2000) I revisited his banking model. The Kudumbashree leaders become mediators to impose meetings: the Kudumbashree leaders impose meetings because local representatives/politicians do the same; the local representatives/politicians impose meetings because the ministers do the same. These actions with banking natures demonstrate the hierarchy within oppressors when considering the Kudumbashree, the Panchayat and the political leaders as oppressor counterparts. I too received some advice and prescriptions with banking natures from the experts belonging to the non-Adivasi community in Southern Wayanad.

> You should research their drinking habits and suicide because these are some of the major issues they face (Peter, 22.09.13).

> You do not have to study more about them, I know everything. I can tell you everything—most of them are drunkards. The only solution is to convert them to Christianity (Mukesh, 28.09.13).

These experts insisted that I conduct my research as they wished; they did not bother too much about other the participants' preferences. Peter consistently pushed me to *select* topics for investigation of his own choice. Mukesh was so prejudiced that he criticised the drinking habits of the Adivasi community. Mukesh gave me a solution to solve the issues of the Adivasi community. In fact, I felt that both Peter and Mukesh acted as my supervisors. These comments implicitly show their inherent banking approach and the absence of dialogue in community work. There was a similar episode in meeting with the leaders of local bodies (see Section 4.1.1). These experts had emigrated from neighbouring districts of Wayanad for employment and community work. When I shared my experience, Binumol and Remya spoke openly: 'Our organisation is not an exception to what you just told us. Our projects are also imposed onto people; they have yet to consider people's *likes* and *dislikes*,' (Evaluation meeting, 29.10.13).

The participants' experience of attending meetings with banking natures is not an isolated one: people experience this oppression as part of a larger context of oppression in Kerala. Similar cases (John, 2009; Arun *et al,* 2011) have been reported in other parts of Kerala with regard to the formation of the Kudumbashree SHGs. However, it is not obvious whether researchers including John experienced similar issues to mine. Unlike these researchers, sharing these experiences of oppression enabled me to learn of the patronising nature of the oppressor:

> The oppressor tells us what to do with our oppression. For instance, they all helped me; they all *supervised* me; and they all become compassionate towards me. This is a new form of banking education that may not always be explicit until you engage with them critically. This is a self-help group, which means you help yourselves and help each other. It is up to you whether or not to attend a function or a meeting. (Syam, Evaluation meeting, 29.09.13)

I shared similar ideas with all participants in our one to-one dialogues and evaluation meetings to discuss the change in the nature of oppression. However, the participants did not respond much initially, as discussed in Chapter Four. However, two participants, including Sumesh and Rajan, reproduced these ideas in the final evaluation meetings (see Section 5.1.2.a). There are many SHGs in Southern Wayanad to serve the Adivasi community and caste organisations act for their liberation. Meetings and events are mostly imposed onto the community. Furthermore, these organisations implicitly impose their own culture and values in the name of liberation. Freire (2000) argues that only a society that is a *being for itself* can develop but not by the reformist solutions that the oppressed depend upon. An oppressive society that is *being for* others does not let people carry out their own reforms, on the contrary, the oppressor creates reforms for the

oppressed before they carry out their own; this method is an effective way of manipulating the oppressive elements of that society. Similarly, many SHGs in Southern Wayanad have yet to consider the aspirations of the Adivasi community. The advocates of these reforms rather act as banking education teachers who prescribe solutions just like they did for me. On the one hand, people marginalise meetings explicitly due to their banking natures and the absence of negotiation; nonetheless, people do not simply marginalise meetings for no reason, as is evident from below.

Deepthi missed the awareness class (Social Solidarity Day, 16.10.13) because 'I had to go home after lunch. I was not told in advance. They just said 'there is a rally that you need to attend,' (One-to-one dialogue, 18.10.13). This experience was repeated elsewhere. 'I was given the invitation for an event on the night before. So, I had to delay my home visit. Similarly, I was invited to a celebration event just two days before it was scheduled to take place,' (Syam, Evaluation meetings, 29.10, 30.10 and 02.11.13). Most participants said that they had to mobilise people at short notice. Therefore, there is absence of dialogue in planning, organising and co-ordinating meetings. The Kudumbashree members think that it is their duty to mobilise people for the party members who nominated their names. I remembered that:

> Many people helped me during my schooldays. They offered me new clothes, pocket money and text books. When I grew up one person tried to intervene in my home life. I had to get advice from him for everything. I did not have any freedom to make decisions on my own for my personal affairs, for example, my wedding, my baby's birth ceremony and father's funeral. One day (Diary notes, 24.09.10), I had to tell him off and he then replied to me 'you should remember your past, my father had been looking after you like his son.' (Syam, Evaluation meeting, 02.11.13)

The compassion and love shown by these people actually made them agents of oppression outside of the family. However, I also benefited from their patronising acts, as otherwise, I would have left school early. If I had dropped out, I would not have had a chance to write this thesis and I would not have emerged from these forms of oppression. Turning back to Section 1.1, despite the Kudumbashree meetings being oppressive they sponsored my Higher Education studies in the UK. I then posed the narrative of Sreejith (2008):

> People now have become too liberal towards the *Dalits*, they pat on their shoulders; they look after them; they love them like their parents. It represents the parenting of feudalism. Do not be our fathers.

Sreejith argues that love, parenting and liberalism are new signs of oppression. Marginalisation and oppression now operate paradoxically in the name of love, affection and empathy. Similarly,

the Panchayat and political parties arrange meetings *for* the people. The government and non-governmental organisations form self-help groups*for*the people; they create SHGs and arrange programmes that are imposed onto the people. There is much evidence to show that Kudumbashree meetings are becoming increasingly patronising. Yet, they have benefitted marginalised families greatly, including mine (see Sections 1.1; 5.3).

Freire (2000) discusses the oppressor/oppressed dichotomy: the oppressor never forms solidarity with the oppressed; they do not discover themselves to be oppressors. On the contrary, the oppressor keeps a patronising attitude towards the oppressed to rationalise their guilt. For Freire, this attitude prompts the oppressor to keep the oppressed in a position of dependence, which happens mostly in banking models of education. Freire is single-minded in discussing true solidarity, true love, true dialogue and true praxis as the only means for liberating the oppressed. Freire does not acknowledge the co-existence between liberation and oppression; between solidarity and alienation; between prescription and choice; between love and hatred; between silence and dialogue; and between banking and problem-posing education. Freirepays no attention to how the oppressed challenges the patronisation of the oppressor. Similarly, Freire claims that the oppressors become patrons for the sake of their own interests. However, he is less vocal about how the oppressed benefits from this patronising approach when programmes provide for people. In contrast to these thoughts, I explored how these revolutionary programmes mutually benefit the oppressor as well as the oppressed (see Tables Nine; Ten, pp 126-127). Freire argues that revolutionary educators contribute to banking education and cultural invasion when designing programmes; furthermore, Freire is concerned about the reproduction of the teacher/student and oppressor/oppressed dichotomies. Moreover, Freire only talks about knowledge as banking in platforms within which such programmes or projects are implemented. My findings are different from Freire while exploring the operation of the banking model in a different way.

My fieldwork reflections, ADS meeting discussions and the participants' narratives together led me to explore the relationship between education and meetings. The formal Kudumbashree meetings and our one-to-one dialogues caused me to extend Freire's (1985; 1994; 2000; 2005) concept of the banking model. For instance, the politicians and leaders of the Panchayat and Kudumbashree not only impose their values and perceptions but also impose meetings (that are expected to reflect the needs of people at grassroots level) onto people. In short, considering neighbourhood groups in parallel to schools does not simply reproduce the oppression that exists

in society and it does not simply let leaders deposit knowledge onto their members. Additionally, the platforms that deposit/create knowledge themselves are deposited onto them in the name of forming empathy with people. Therefore, both banking and problem-posing models themselves are banking. Freire only discusses banking education as parenting within school. Freire (2000; 2005) attributes love, empathy and hope to the features of problem-posing education. My findings are original in that they revisit these ideas beyond false binaries: banking education may also uphold these qualities to oppress people on an implicit level. Love, affection or empathy could also be a new means of oppression (see Tables Eleven, p129; Twelve, p 130).

5.3 Growth of self-help groups and the duality of oppressor: between oppression and liberation

Section 2.1.2.c discussed Freire's (1994; 2000), notions of banking education and dual consciousness with respect to people's simultaneous engagement in many governmental, non-governmental and *religious* self-help groups in Southern Wayanad. As evident from Freire, the oppressed form a dual consciousness due to the oppressor's divisive tactics; the oppressed are at the same time oppressors/sub-oppressors. Section 2.3 addressed the limitations of Freire in understanding the co-existence between banking and problem-posing education and between oppression and liberation? (see Table Thirteen, p132). In order to extend and refine these ideas, this section answers the following questions (Sub Aims Three to Five) with regard to banking education, meetings and participatory development in Southern Wayanad:

- How do SHGs contribute to oppression as well as liberation/empowerment?
- How does the oppressor divide themselves just as they divide the oppressed in forming SHGs for a cross-section of the marginalised?
- How does the oppressor imitate their oppressor colleagues in forming SHGs and organising events?

Turning back to Chapter One, it is not just upper caste men who oppress marginalised castes. As I understand from Ambedkar (1950; 2004), all four communities within the caste system are oppressors; they oppress each other while oppressing those outside the caste system. There are sub-divisions including Namboothiri, Gurukkal and Ayyar within the Brahmin caste. Similar divisions are found within SHGs in Kerala, including: NHGs formed by caste organisations; Kudumbashree NHGs; NGO beneficiary groups; and Hindu organisations like Ekal Vidyalaya (2015) and Vivekananda Mission (see Section 6.2). The leaders discussed this increased growth of self-help groups as follows:

> This marks the significance of our organisation and our current project. Only this organisation could deal with your issues. Our strategy is to avoid imposing projects. That is why we came to you and arranged this meeting. There are many projects that failed to address your concerns. 'Praise the Lord' for giving us this project and neighbourhood group. Let us have more and more NHGs for your welfare. (Xavier, Pastor-participant observation, inaugural ceremony of Watershed project, Nirmmithi, 25.10.13)

This speech shows the parental nature of the Pastor's communication that legitimises invasion. The project was inaugurated *for* the Kattunaikka community. However, although Christians do not form a majority in this area, the Pastor still asks the people to 'Praise the Lord' in the same way as pastors address their own devotees in Church. This speech shows how the Pastor uses problem-posing models to justify the increased growth of SHGs and how such models become a means of oppression like the banking model. Unlike Freire (1978; 1985; 1994; 2000; 2005), I went beyond the false binaries of oppression, education and research: the binary between banking and problem-posing models and the binary between teacher-researcher-oppressor and student-participants-oppressed (see Chapter Four).

When responding to my concerns regarding the imposition of religious values/behaviours Remya said, 'Many people have raised allegations that the Urali and Kattunaikka community have been converted by Christian organisations. Hindu organisations like RSS do the same to the Kuruma and Kurichya community,' (Evaluation meeting, 29.10.13). On the same theme, a bus conductor joked, 'Did you come for religious conversion (smiling)?' (24.09.13). I then thought about the issues of invasion by caste and communal organisations. A dialogical observation of events to a greater extent reflected these concerns over conversion (see Section 6.2.1). As presented above, Xavier, the pastor also criticises the politicians for ignoring dialogical methods, but he implicitly claims that his organisation makes a difference by following problem-posing models. He shows how such *reformist* developments model themselves by acting as banking education. As evident from the audio tape of the watershed project inaugural ceremony, the pastor does not make a direct reference to Freire however he implicitly claims himself to be a Freire scholar because he critiques the existing community development projects with banking natures in southern Wayanad. As Bartlett (2005) writes, popular educators in Brazil claim themselves to be Freirian but they have yet to understand his educational thoughts.

In the evaluation meetings, Sumesh and Rajan talked in favour of the organisations including Vivekananda Mission and Nirmmithi, despite being critically aware of their contributions to banking education. 'Anyway, at least there is something happening despite having these

shortcomings. We get free treatments and scholarships, so weshould co-operate with them,' (Sumesh, One-to-one dialogue, 29.10.13). Similarly, Rajan discussed how the events run by the Vivekananda Mission are simultaneously oppressive and problem-centred:

> These meetings and events bring economic benefits to a few people but it disturbs those who mobilise and those who participate. For instance, the RSS controls the Mission. It helps people to cope with their issues. But, they do not let me criticise it in meetings. I do not want to be a slave anymore. So, I do not go there. Nevertheless, they do not force anything. (Rajan, One-to-one dialogue, 28.09.13)

For Rajan, the Mission's activities are problem-posing. The Mission does not deposit anything, but there is an oppressor/oppressed dichotomy. Most events share the features of both banking and problem-posing education. I told the participants that:

> All these events might not have happened with the knowledge of those who arrange such events. The oppressor does not always mean to oppress people explicitly; some of the leaders may really want to helppeople by reflecting on their oppression but the leaders may not have the knowledge of problem-posing education and its application in many empirical contexts. (Syam, Evaluation meetings, 29.10.13 and 02.11.13)

Freire (2000) does not discuss this co-existence between banking and problem-posing models. He does not emphasize the *duality* of the oppressor, just like that of the oppressed. On the contrary, he claims that the oppressor considers themselves as an oppressor class. Additionally, he discusses solidarity among oppressors, although they clash over group interests. However, he de-emphasizes the duality among oppressors.Linking the philanthropic and welfare programmes with the participants' shared narratives facilitated me to explore Freire's (1994; 2000) notion of duality beyond false binaries.

The politicians and the authorities of both local governmental and non-Governmental organisations also form a duality and they are divided just like the oppressed. The increased growth of SHGs divides these people by themselves; they compete with each other to form further SHGs and to organise more meetings for the sake of their own hidden agendas; they compete with each other to be the *real* oppressor and take control of the oppressive world. Although the organisers of events claim that they follow problem-posing models in theory, this did not happen in reality.Historically, the Adivasi community in Kerala has been oppressed and marginalised. However, the oppressor now has to negotiate and they should offer something to the oppressed. In short, the oppressor has to take up a dual role: on the one hand, they oppress people by imposing projects and events onto them. On the other hand, they act as *reformers* or r*evolutionary*educators by forming a *communion* with the marginalised castes. In other words, the

descendants of the old oppressor have convinced people that they are now critical activists; they claim themselves to be *problem-posing* in order to deal with oppression. This duality makes the politicians, local authorities and NGOs contribute to oppression in new forms without losing the support of people (see Table Thirteen, p132).

Again, Freire (1994; 2000) considers banking education as a means of reproducing dual consciousness, which is internalised by the oppressed only; whereas problem-posing education enables the oppressed to transform their duality. The participants' narratives enabled me to revisit these ideas too. Despite holding banking events, people could differentiate one event from the other. Rajan was critical about the growth of the SHGs and the increasing number of meetings: 'They all wanted money, the political parties organise rallies to ensuring a vote bank. My ears are blocked up when listening to campaigns of empowerment, farewell parties, again and again ha ha (laughing),' (Evaluation meetings, 29.10.13 and 02.11.13). Rajan made this comment when discussing the Kudumbashree's twin goals: women's empowerment and poverty eradication.

Furthermore, I learned from Remya that the Vivekananda Mission runs Ekal Vidyalaya, (2015), a one-teacher system that is part of a non-formal education programme run by the Ekal Vidyalaya Foundation, which was established in the early 1980s. The official website claims that it is an education movement inspired by the early followers of Vivekananda. Ekal Vidyalaya has twin goals: tribal empowerment and eradicating illiteracy. These are similar to the twin goals of the Kudumbashree Mission in Kerala. Ekal Vidyalaya and Vivekananda Mission conduct many events and educational projects by replicating the state's welfare programmes *for the liberation* of people. Turning back to 5.2, the Kudumbashree leaders have become mediators of oppression: all of them benefit from each other in their efforts to impose projects, meetings and events onto the people.

Freire (2000) argues that even though the oppressed take part in their struggle against oppression, they are conditioned by the myths of the previous order. In other words, people are oppressed by their similarly-oppressed peers, and the oppressor benefits from this. Nonetheless, Freire does not explore such issues among oppressors. Unlike Freire, I explored oppression within the stratified oppressor communities.

Freire (2000) criticises how the oppressor arranges revolutionary programmes in the name of community development. Such attempts potentially contribute to invasion of the oppressed culture by the oppressor's. These programmes favour only some of the oppressed but not others that would eventually divide the oppressed. The divisive tactics of divide and rule are tactics of oppressors that they fulfil through banking education. Additionally, Freire argues that during the initial stage of their struggle the oppressed can become sub-oppressors to legitimise the actions of the oppressor. Again, Freire does not describe how the oppressors become the sub-oppressors in their efforts to take control of the oppressive world. The participants and I co-constructed these divisions within oppressors in connection with participatory development and oppression (see Section 6.2).

Remya and Binumol criticised caste invasion that functions as participatory development. Their narratives show that they are Freire scholars at an implicit level. These participants were also influential for other participants to negotiate their views. 'It is not their magnanimity but our right to avail of benefits,' (Renjini and Shobha, 02.11.13). I said, 'Of course, they are simply agents. Those who arrange these programmes gain more benefits than its beneficiaries. However, they claim that they generate opportunities for us,' (Syam, Evaluation meeting, 02.11.13). In contrast to Freire (1998 b; 2000), the participants' perceptions demonstrate how they have developed critical consciousness within their invaded social lives. These dialogues empowered both the participants and me. Remya worked as the co-ordinator of Ekal Vidyalaya. Consequently, I learned about Ekal Vidyalaya from Remya. She inspired me to review this education programme and Freire's notion of invasion. As discussed in 6.2.1, Figures Seventeen and Eighteen made her think more about hidden forms of caste invasion that she was unaware of. These findings caused a paradigm shift from cultural invasion to caste invasion in my research (see Table Twenty-two, p144).

Freire (1994; 2000) refers to oppression within the oppressed as an outcome of the duality of the oppressed. In contrast to Freire, I explored that people marginalise themselves due to the duality of the oppressor and the paradoxical operation of banking education. The increased growth of self-help groups has been celebrated by the government, politicians, NGOs and even researchers. All these SHGs have a common agenda: to deal with oppression; to talk about oppression; and to take the part of the oppressed. This would only contribute to an easy path for the oppressor. This paradox of oppression is a new form of banking education that I identified in contrast to Freire (2000) and related scholars such as Rege (2010) and Rao (2011).

Freire (2000) discusses oppression at this macro level whereby classrooms and schools are agents for reproducing oppression. Freire (1998 b) argues that banking education teachers repeat the rigid pattern of schools that serve the ideology of the oppressor. However, these ideas are insufficient to discuss how the oppressors imitate the oppressive tactics of their oppressor peers. Freire only addresses how the oppressed imitate the activities and beliefs of the oppressor because they remain fragmented, having no critical consciousness. Furthermore, he does not address fragmentation and competition within the oppressor in their efforts to take control of the oppressive world, nor how this leads the oppressed to transform their dual consciousness. Again, Freire talks about imitation and duality as properties of the oppressed. Unlike Freire, my dialogues with participants and their meetings prompted me to investigate these issues of imitation and duality beyond false binaries.

All the aforementioned events organised by the Kudumbashree, Caste organisations and local NGOs in Southern Wayanad looked the same—all followed the same agenda, such as a presentation of the Balance Sheet, or the distribution of stipends, scholarships and prizes, and nothing more. These events simply follow the same pattern, the same agenda and the same slogans. However, the organisers claim that they are distinct in dealing with oppression. Furthermore, they imitate the oppressive tactics of their oppressor colleagues by simply providing people with similar programmes. The divisive nature of the oppressor makes people educate each other about their shared experiences of oppression. Turning back to the speech of the pastor, he claimed that his project was the best and that the others projects were not. People may hear the same story from another event and they get some critical remarks about the first. People transform their dual consciousness from their repeated experiences of oppression or marginalisation from these events. Even though Binumol, Remya and Rajan have worked with similar organisations, they have critically examined these projects. In short, Freire (1994; 1998a; 1998b; 2000) has disregarded this potential of the oppressed to develop critical consciousness as a result of the divisive nature of the oppressor. Drawing on these learning experiences, I responded to the participants:

> The paradox of oppression is: There was a time where we were completely marginalised from the formal education system. As time passed, these conditions have been transformed; and we started accessing education from a Brahminical standpoint. At the moment they oppress us by imposing educational programmes onto us. It is a new tactic of oppression and banking education. (Syam, Evaluation meetings, 29.10.13 and 02.11.13)

The oppressor cannot always oppress people using the same tactics because they develop certain forms of critical awareness. They have to change their mode of operation in oppressing people. So, they control everything that potentially seeks to endanger their status quo. The oppressor endangers problem-posing education before it reaches the oppressed. As evident from Rajan, the teacher in problem-posing education became more powerful than in the traditional classroom: 'During my son's Master's programme, the lecturer did not give him enough marks for his internal examination. This form of marginalisation would not have happened in traditional classrooms where the internal assessment was never being counted for final result,' (Rajan, one-to-one dialogue 26.09.10; evaluation meeting, 02.11.13). I responded to Rajan's criticisms:

> What we have experienced is not problem-posing education. It is still banking in the form of problem-posing education. That is why we did not find any difference between the two. Forms of oppression in banking model might re-appear in problem-posing education. This is due to the influence of banking education from school, family or neighbourhood groups. As a consequence, they try to transfer all such reforms back into banking mode, which would help them to further oppress people. They look like problem-posing because they convince people that all forms of oppression have been changed. Hence, people find it hard to see such paradoxical operation of oppression. (Syam, Evaluation meeting, 02.11.13)

My reflections on many pieces of literature and the participants' narratives enabled us to co-construct knowledge: all movements, including the Kudumbashree, are supposed to break up the unequal power structure and the oppressor/oppressed dichotomy. Devika and Thampi argue that the Kudumbashree is yet to break Kerala's unequal power structure despite contributing much space for women in it. Devika and Thampi (2007) criticise the state that has created many programmes *for* the marginalised in the name of empowerment. However, the goal of *empowerment* has been the same as before but the instruments and agents have been changed.

When I posed these findings (Evaluation meeting, 02.11.13), the female participants unequivocally said: 'There is no doubt that Kudumbashree has made significant changes to our life,' (Renjini and Shobha); 'It did well in the beginning,' (Deepthi, Binumol and Remya). 'The intervention of party politics jeopardised everything,' (Karimpan, Rajan and Kannan). The participants are not far from recognising these implicit goals of empowerment. 'The politicians are here not to empower women or the Adivasi but to mobilise people for the vote bank; many parties have ruled this state from time to time but the life of the Kuruma community remains the same,' (Rajan, Evaluation meeting, 02.11.13). Similarly, Renjini (02.11.13) said:

> Many people who belong to the Adivasi community have become MLAs, ministers in both the state and the local government bodies. But we have not reached anywhere. Moreover, development projects have generated professional jobs for the Adivasi community. For example, Binumol and Remya work with an NGO.

Many scholars, including Devika and Thampi, have not fully explored such critical perception of the beneficiaries. My findings are original compared to the current literature on the Kudumbashree and community development projects in Kerala (John, 2009; Nidheesh, 2011). These scholars do not elaborate on this duality of oppression despite presenting its pros and cons; they tend to focus more on its success stories. Unlike Freire (1994; 1998a; 1998b; 2000), I explored contemporary forms of oppression and banking education in non-formal education at the micro level.

Having refined the arguments of Devika, the oppressor is compelled to create such spaces because they are scared of the oppressed for having the potential to break up the status quo.Consequently, the oppressor should prove themselves that oppression is no more, that they are part of the oppressed and that they speak on behalf of the oppressed. Accordingly, in order to legitimise their own interests, the oppressors form SHGs for the oppressed. For example, the organisers of the Vivekananda Mission claim that that they safeguard secular, democratic and public interests; because they set up hospitals and medical camps for a cross-section of the population, even though preference is given to the Adivasi community (see Tables Twenty-four to-Twenty-six, pp 147-149). Everything happens due to the joint efforts of both the government and the Adivasi community. However, the agents of participatory development marginalise the role of beneficiaries by providing programmes *for* them:

‘We simply follow the paths of our ancestors; we put in a lot of effort to initiate more projects from time to time,’ (Mukundan, a local politician, Social Solidarity Day, 16.10.13). These claims are more explicit when projects are successful. Blame is put on the people if the results are unsuccessful: ‘We have provided loans. But the members have jeopardised this. Those who took loans did not pay us back. So we had to drop that project,’ (Sukumaran, The president, Adivasi Co-operative Society meeting, 5.10.13). Referring to another instance, Kannan said, ‘When things went wrong the officers would say-‘we cannot do everything for you; we spend money to build the reservoir and pump set; it is now your responsibility to take over from us,’ (One-to-one dialogue, 16.10.13). Therefore, the advocates of development mythicize ‘people’sparticipation’ to justify new forms of marginalisationimplicitly.

As discussed previously, the Kudumbashree is supposed to be formed for the empowerment of local bodies as well as for women's empowerment and development at grassroots level. Kudumbashree meetings are imposed onto people for the sake of the local politicians and ruling parties. Being a state-created self-help group, it thus *empowers* only the state by itself more than the marginalised women in general or the Adivasi women in particular. Both empowerment and development have become instruments of oppression; it is a new form of oppression and marginalisation, different from the past. Unlike Freire, the oppressor does not simply oppress people and legitimise their oppression using established myths. Likewise, they do not simply use propaganda in order to legitimise their oppression. Furthermore, they talk about the oppression from which they benefit. Upholding the dual roles of oppression and the co-existence between banking and problem-posing education is a new form of oppression (see Table Twenty-six, p 149).

Freire (1994; 1998a; 1998b; 2000) does not emphasize the potential of people to develop critical consciousness despite receiving deposits in banking models. Conversely, I explored that Kudumbashree members know that their meetings are banking and that they make the choice to marginalise meetings. Members on the one hand receive such events in the form of deposits and on the other hand marginalise themselves by being critically aware. (see Table Thirteen, p132).

5.4 Discovering oppression and marginalisation as banking education and marginalisation of problem-posing approach: revisiting the oppressor/oppressed relationship

This section reconsiders Freire's (1994; 2000; 2005) banking model while reflecting on the work site of the Kudumbashree/Adivasi women and the annual meeting of the Adivasi Co-operative Society (see Tables Fourteen-to-Sixteen, pp 133-135). The stories that emerged from these events were quite different from those in the previous section. This section addresses the following questions (Sub Aims Three to Five) to refine Freire's banking and problem-posing models that Chapter Two addresses in general:

- How does marginalisation itself become banking education?
- Why do people marginalise meetings even if they are problem-posing?
- How do members act as oppressors to marginalise themselves and their own community leaders?

Figure Nine
Withdrawal from health and safety

Kudumbashree members are busy working in a trench. A member helps her colleague to step down with her working tool. There was no step ladder, no first aid kit or no safety boots(Observation of Thozhilurappu work site, 27.09.13)

Karimpan escorted me to the workplace of the Thozhilurappu Project and both of us had informal dialogues with the people working there. Some of them were participants in my research, but some of them were not. On our way to the work site, I saw one member returning from the workplace with an injured finger. Later on, when we reached the work site Karimpan spoke informally with the workers:

> Karimpan: Let Syam take some photos, which will be shown to the British people. Work was supposed to start at 10am. But, you come around 11.30 am, don't you (laughing)?
>
> Sunitha: Oh ho... You do not wear a watch, do you? That is why you feel like so (laughing).
>
> Syam: It would have been easy if you had a stepladder.
>
> Karimpan (to me): We could make a stepladder with bamboos.
>
> Rajamma: Who is going to carry that? If someone came up with that idea then everyone would then expect him to do that all the time and that would be more difficult.
>
> Sumathi: The Panchayat provides us with safety boots. We do not wear them as there is not enough for everyone; we used to have first aid kits before but not now; it is not easy to work with shoes on especially on a muddy surface. I find it hard to take my shoes off from the soil after rainy days. (Informal dialogues, 27.09.13)

Drawing on these informal dialogues, I explored the way members marginalise their own safety measures. Furthermore, I revisited Freire's (2000) teacher-oppressor and student-oppressed dichotomy when considering meetings as education (see Table Sixteen, p135). I have seen people making similar sorts of jokes and having arguments with each other. Additionally, participants gossip about the other participants: Participant A said of another participant, 'Syam, do not trust him. He boasts about himself too much.' Participant B said, 'I do not like him at all. He is very rude; I do not want to sit with him.' Participant C said, 'Although he criticises the upper castes when he sees them he is subservient.' Some members of the Kuruma community used a nickname to refer to participant C. So, I explored how the participants oppressed each other as a way of addressing the relation between language and power and oppression. However, I did not discuss these topics with the participants due to ethical and confidentiality considerations. So, we simply discussed what emerged from Figure Nine:

> People do not wear them [safety shoes] because they are not used to them. All these things are new to them. They might prefer to do what they have been doing so far. Even if you introduce such measures, they think that you should let things go on as it used to be. Moreover, they are not trained to use them. In addition, it brings practical difficulties… I mean moving around and looking after them. (Sumesh, Evaluation meeting, 29.10.13)

Shobha said:

> I do not think that people refuse safety shoes simply due to shortage and absence of training. Sometimes that does happen. We cannot always blame the Panchayat. There are such measures but people are lazy to wear them. When I look at the photos, I now realise that it is very dangerous. (Evaluation meeting, 29.10.13)

Likewise, Renjini said:

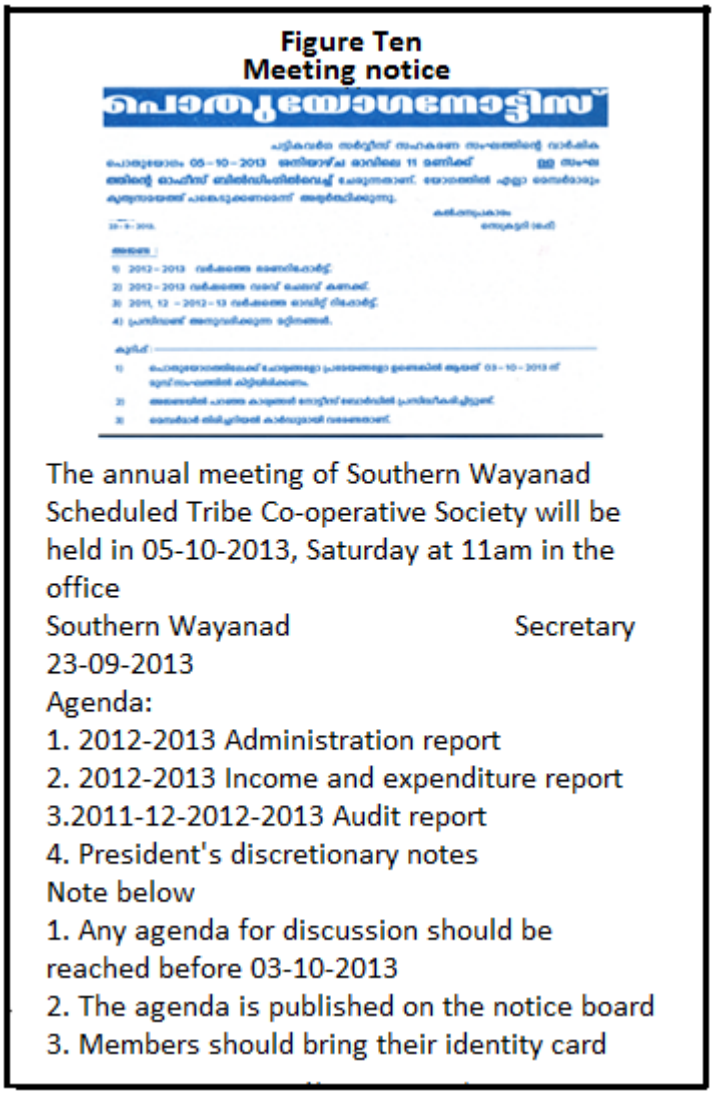
> I too work in the trench; I used to step down without using a step ladder (which we do not have). However, I did not think it was dangerous when doing that even though the photos tell me the opposite. (Evaluation meeting, 29.10.13)

I then shared my experience of forming a dialogue with my neighbour:

> Now, there are some refurbishment works going on with my fence. One labourer had injured his eyes from working with grit. I asked him 'Why do you not wear some spectacles/safety equipment?' He replied, 'I know that it is safe; but it is very difficult to work with them. Similarly, it is difficult to work with trousers on; normally we have dhotis folded up to our knees. I know that they are not safe enough but…' (My neighbour, Informal dialogue, 08.10.13)

I learned from these common narratives that marginalised communities have a long history of oppression and marginalisation. Their conditions of work had been more oppressive than today's: they did not have any safety measures like today; they had to work from dawn to dusk in the heat and the cold. In short, they had to work as slaves. This experience makes them think that everything is *natural* and everything is better now than before. Moreover, these meeting dialogues prompted me to explore how members experience problem-posing models as well as banking models. These ideas are elaborated further in the Annual Meeting of the Tribal Co-operative Society (see Figure Ten).

Figure Ten
Meeting notice



പൊതുയോഗനോട്ടീസ്

The annual meeting of Southern Wayanad Scheduled Tribe Co-operative Society will be held in 05-10-2013, Saturday at 11am in the office

Southern Wayanad Secretary

23-09-2013

Agenda:

1. 2012-2013 Administration report
2. 2012-2013 Income and expenditure report
3.2011-12-2012-2013 Audit report
4. President's discretionary notes

Note below

1. Any agenda for discussion should be reached before 03-10-2013
2. The agenda is published on the notice board
3. Members should bring their identity card

Figure Ten shows the meeting invitation for the members of the Adivasi Co-operative Society (Name of the Society has been pseudonymed). The agenda allows the members to bring their ideas to the committee before the meeting. Moreover, they have another opportunity: 'If you did not bring any agenda in advance, do not worry, you can bring that now; we will discuss it,' (Sukumaran, The president, 05.10.13). Suddenly, Renjini, who sat next to me, whispered, 'People are not interested in discussions; they are here to get the travel allowance of 100 rupees,' (Figure Eleven).

Figure Eleven
Annual meeting of the Tribal co-operative Society

People are busy collecting their allowance at the end of the meeting(Observation, 05.10.13)

My experience of learning from this meeting is quite different from the Kudumbashree meetings as these meetings were not banking unlike the Kudumbashree. Moreover, they have an explicit agenda that members could revisit, which is the primary requirement of problem-posing education for Freire (2000; 2005). Despite having this advantage the members marginalised these meetings too: they did not bring any agenda item nor they did have any discussion issues despite frequent requests from their leaders. Linking this experience with earlier discussions (see Figures Nine and Ten), I discovered that people marginalise meetings that follow both banking and problem-posing models. Furthermore, I identified the way in which people oppress themselves and in addition the way in which they oppress their leaders. This is what I experienced in our meetings too—they declined my requests to get them to participate explicitly. However, the leaders did not make further attempts to revisit the meeting agenda through informal dialogue with the members. Drawing on this knowledge and experience, I explored how formal meetings prevent people from forming dialogues. I too struggled when these leaders asked me to talk suddenly at the end of a meeting (see Sections 4.1; 5.5).

Freire (1994; 1998a; 1998b; 2005) does not consider these possibilities but tends to reduce everything to a binary between the oppressor and the oppressed; for Freire, the oppressed do not break the banking model because of the shadow of the oppressor cast over them; and they could make it happen only through problem-posing education. Freire focuses on the unidirectional flow of oppression from the oppressor to the oppressed. So, my research is original as it fills in the gaps in the literature.

Considering meetings as banking and problem-posing education, I explored that the members marginalise their leaders in the same way as they marginalise the Kudumbashree meetings. Being

members of the same community did not stop the Adivasi community members from marginalising their peers. Returning to Figure Nine (p249), the long years of oppression and marginalisation have deposited knowledge onto the Adivasi community through which they marginalise themselves and their own opportunities. In other words, marginalisation and oppression contribute to banking education. Consequently, the Adivasi community deposit knowledge by themselves from their own experiences of oppression. Freire does not emphasize such a *natural* operation of oppression (see Tables Twenty-four, p147; Twenty-six, p 149). However, the participants had different views about their meetings:

> They do not attend such events so we had to strictly tell them, 'If you don't come we will no longer give you any grants.' 'What would we get from this?' This is what people ask me. If they get 'something' then people would be interested. (Binumol, One-to-one dialogue, 24.09.13)

When responding to the previous figures, Binumol argued that the self-help groups are educational and that the banking nature of meetings is unavoidable because people marginalise them no matter how problem-centred they are. The people come to meetings to get the allowances but not for any discussion. Similarly, Karimpan said, 'Meetings are not forced on them all the time. Members do not come to meetings if the leaders do not speak strictly to them. The distribution of grants and subsidies normally forms a part of the meeting agenda,' (Evaluation meeting, 29.10.13). Sumesh was more concerned about the way the Adivasi community marginalise their own meetings: 'The Adivasi community is at least bothered to organise events for themselves. They think about money for every single thing. That is why others take over responsibilities from us, which in turn make those events banking,' (Evaluation meeting, 29.10.13). Similarly, Renjini said, 'Nobody showed any interest in becoming the president or the secretary because they have to deal with finance and accounts; so, I was given this position suddenly,' (One-to-one dialogue, 03.10.13).

These participants did not give much explanation about the reasons why members marginalise their own meetings that give them more opportunities for dialogue. On the contrary, they argue that the above conditions (that make members marginalise meetings and problem-posing education) actually make meetings banking. However, Kannan came up with a different opinion:

> It happens both ways. The KrishiBhavan organise meetings every month. Nobody is bothered to attend except for Rajan and Karimpan. They invite all of us but my colleagues are selfish—SwanthamKaryamSindhabad [let only my own needs fulfil]. However, they rarely reflect on the farmers' changing needs. When I say to the officers that paddy is not profitable they then say 'Why don't you try ginger?' But ginger is not suitable in this climate. (Kannan, Evaluation meeting, 02.11.13)

It is evident from Kannan that on the one hand people marginalise meetings and they marginalise their own marginalised colleagues. On the other hand, however, there is an absence of a problem-posing approach in the activities of the KrishiBhavan. All the participants discussed the general characteristics of the members when responding to the meeting of the Adivasi Co-operative Society. The previous sections explored how the Kudumbashree leaders conduct meetings and events by following a banking model. However, such conditions were not apparent in the Adivasi Co-operative Society meeting, although it does not adopt an entirely problem-posing approach. These observations facilitated me to refine Freire's concept of oppression and education.

Freire (2000) claims that the oppressor wants to weaken the oppressed through the repressive methods of bureaucracy—the projects are a form of manipulation by claiming that they take care of the oppressed. These projects alienate people from their lives by curbing their critical consciousness. Again, Freire considers problem-posing education as a means for the oppressed to liberate themselves from oppression. However, he does not emphasize the conditions that prevent people from accessing problem-posing education. So, the Adivasi Co-operative Society meeting prompted me to explore these issues so as to discuss the paradox of oppression.

The Kudumbashree members marginalise meetings so that the meetings become banking and vice versa. Yet the Adivasi community members marginalise their own community meetings as well as their own community leaders despite being given the option of negotiation. Historically, the marginalised communities in Kerala did not have the opportunity to form formal dialogues because they had been marginalised from the mainstream. Today, they have opportunities but they cannot take advantage of them. This condition in turn serves the interests of the oppressor—the new tactics of banking education. In other words, oppression itself is a form of banking education that makes the people choose to be oppressed as well as the oppressor (see Tables Fourteen-to-Sixteen, pp 133-135). Women are now confident and they have broken their silence with the advent of the Kudumbashree NHGs as discussed in Chapter One.

5.5 Marginalising meetings: between silence and dialogue

This section revisits Freire's (2000) idea of silence, addressed in Section 2.3.3. Freire is concerned about the ways in which students remain silent, a sign of absence of critical consciousness (see Tables Seventeen-to-Nineteen, pp136-138). I came across different themes of silence in the Kudumbashree meetings and events in Southern Wayanad. Drawing on these themes, this section answers the following three questions (Sub Aims Three to Five):

- How do both formal and informal meetings produce silence and dialogue?
- How do the members marginalise themselves as well as their formal meetings with silence?
- How do people form dialogue with silence?

Figure Twelve
Informal meeting

Figure Thirteen
Formal meeting

NHG meetings usually take place at the front of *Daivappura*.Daivappura is a holy house where wedding ceremonies and funeral rites of the Kuruma community take place. Members share their issues just before the meeting (Figure Twelve). However, they did not bring these discussions to the formal NHG meeting(Figure Thirteen). (Observation of formal and informal NHG meetings29.09.13)

Learning about the different themes of silence was complex as there was no direct sequence of events. The audio tape shows that a formal discussion was very limited in the meetings of the Kudumbashree NHG, while the meeting of the Adivasi Co-operative Society was more formal. At the Adivasi Co-operative Society meetings, the president, secretary and executive members delivered speeches; in contrast, the leaders and members discussed domestic matters in the Kudumbashree ADS and CDS meetings; the audio tape of both meetings shows that the Adivasi members were relatively more silent than the non-Adivasi members. The chairperson and president had arguments with their members in the CDS and ADS meetings respectively (see Section 5.2). The non-Adivasimembers argued with the ADS president. However, the audio tape of the ADS meeting shows that the Adivasi members did not make any explicit comments although they whispered to each other, and seats were put out separately for the president, secretary and the chairperson (see Figure Eight, p212), just like at the Adivasi Co-operative Society meeting (see Figure Eleven, p233). This seating arrangement was not found in the neighbourhood meetings, which have the most members to represent the Adivasi community. It was difficult to see a leader/member dichotomy apart from the formal discussion and separation of seating

arrangements (Figures Twelve and Thirteen, p226). The members became silent when meeting started formally. The meeting minutes were all more or less the same and each meeting started with a prayer song. The president, secretary, or a member read the previous minutes; one member collected the subscription; and finally each meeting finished with a vote of thanks (Meetings of NHG, ADS, CDS and Adivasi Co-operative Society). Aside from the Adivasi Co-operative Society, none of the meetings had a written agenda. However, the members had informal discussions before, after and during the meetings. But, none of these informal discussions had a sequence:

> Deepthi: I attended a funeral yesterday; the body was buried in a different place.
>
> Shobha: Do not they belong to our community?
>
> Deepthi: Not sure, I think they have come from a different place.
>
> Meenu (interruption): My son had an examination last week. He told me that exam was very difficult.
>
> Deepthi: Hmmmm. I heard that questions were asked from outside the syllabus. The students are now supposed to answer things that they are not taught in the classroom.
>
> Geetha: How do we celebrate Gandhi Jayanthi (Gandhi's Birthday)? Who else should be invited?
> (Informal dialogues between members, observation of NHG meeting, 29.09.13)

First, Deepthi and Shobha discussed how funeral rites differ for immigrants. Second, they criticised their experience of dialogical education in schools because Deepthi repeated her assertions in the evaluation meeting (02.01.13) to support Rajan's arguments against Freire (see Sections 4.2.2; 5.1.2.a). Other members whispered to each other so that I hardly heard them. Again, Deepthi and Shobha had a discussion: they mentioned a television celebrity but did not continue their previous topics. These informal dialogues did not form part of the minutes of the meeting. These dialogues show how members create dialogue informally; how formal meetings create silence; and how members marginalise formal meetings in the same way that they marginalise problem-posing education as in Section 5.4. In the second meeting, on the 6th of October, there was not much evidence of a change in their behaviour.

These meetings led to a re-evaluation of Freire's (2000) notions of silence and oppression beyond false binaries. For Freire, silence is the result of the teacher/student dichotomy and domination in classroom. However, the neighbourhood group and the Adivasi Co-operative Society meetings still

contribute to silence despite having a mutual relationship between leaders and members. This is related to the way in which they marginalise the formal and vice-versa. Freire's ideas have been insufficient to explore this relationship between formal meetings and silence and marginalisation(see Table Eighteen, p 137). These concepts are elaborated further through the informal meetings of the Kuruma community.

Figure Fourteen
Silence and dialogue in informal meetings

In this shed, the local residents meet together to read newspaper. On the left, there are paddy fields spreading across acres. In the middle of the road, a man is sitting on his knees with his grandson. He listens to the conversation of people inside the shed. Meanwhile Rajan just passed through after having a brief chat with these people
(Participant observation of informal meeting, 17.10.13)

> Rajan: Hi. I need to go to town. So, I am not joining you today.
>
> Rupesh: The price value of land is going up. That is why he does not want to sell his land now.
>
> Madhu: Hmm. He is a cunning guy.
>
> Rupesh (asked me): How is life in the UK? Are you nearly finished?
> (Participant observation of informal meeting, 17.10.13)

The person who sat down the road did not come to the shed despite there being a seat for him. I saw this seating preference of people repeatedly during my journeys to this location: some people gather on the road; some of them stand up; some of them sit down. When vehicles pass through, people just move to either side of the road. It confirms my learning experience from Section

5.4(see Figure Nine, p229): people marginalise their health and safety needs and the opportunities that are in front of them. Six people gathered, but only two people had a dialogue while I was there. Many participants responded to this saying that elders would listen when youngsters talk and vice-versa. One could say that people marginalise each other in terms of age. However, this issue did not form a part of our evaluation meetings due to time limitations. Consequently, we concentrated on how people remain silent and how they form a dialogue using silence in similar gatherings. Since I only spent ten minutes in the shed, I could not listen to their other discussions. Sumesh explained to me what their informal meetings generally look like:

> Someone initiates a topic of conversation, one or two might discuss with each other. Others listen to their discussions. They do not normally complete a topic if another person turns up and introduces a new topic; they would then carry on with that. People who remain silent or do not talk may bring what has been discussed to their friends or family. I can walk out if I don't like what is being discussed in informal meetings. People do not need to listen to the instructions of the president or the secretary. (Sumesh, Evaluation meeting, 26.10.13)

Sumesh discussed the advantages and disadvantages of informal meetings: the absence of dichotomy and domination enables people to form a dialogue. However, what is being discussed may not be fact in these meetings. Sometimes people may gossip, which they cannot do in formal meetings; this concern could be a reason why people do not talk in formal meetings. Furthermore, they need to make sure that their arguments are valid. For Sumesh, those who are silent form dialogue too: their silence does not always display their passiveness, but they might share their experiences through another platform where they are more comfortable. Similarly, Kannan said, 'Sometimes I cannot answer if you ask me a question even if I know the answer. However, when we sit like this I would talk,' (Kannan, Evaluation meeting, 26.10.13). 'When Padmini talks, I listen to her carefully,' (Shobha, Evaluation meeting, 26.10.13). When I shared this concept of silence, Deepthi responded:

> I am concerned whether or not I can express my feelings in the ADS/CDS meetings in the same way as in the NHG meetings. I am more comfortable in the neighbourhood group because I see my colleagues every day. Moreover, I know everybody and get on with them very well. In contrast, I may have to talk to a stranger in other formal meetings. Besides, I am shy to talk when I stand up. (Evaluation meeting, 06.10.13)

It is evident from Deepthi that the formal environment stops her from talking confidently in the ADS/CDS meetings. Likewise, Renjini gave reasons for her silence:

> I am a new member of the Adivasi Co-operative Society. Most members are more experienced than me. In the CDS, they are all women. Similarly, all the members of the NHG belong to my own community, the Kuruma. Moreover, when I go to neighbourhood meetings, I have a feeling that we all belong to the same family. (One-to-one dialogue, 26.10.13)

Drawing on this narrative, I said:

> I find people form silence and dialogue in both formal as well as informal meetings. However, these formal and informal are relational. For example, technically speaking the NHG meetings are more informal than the ADS/CDS. You might express more in your informal meetings outside your NHG. (Syam, Evaluation meeting, 26.10.13)

For Freire (2000), silence is a sign of the absence of critical consciousness. In contrast to these ideas, the above dialogues taught me that formal meetings marginalise people, make people silent but silence can operate as a dialogue. Freire discusses the culture of silence in banking education classrooms; nevertheless, there is limited focus on how formal meetings cause people to remain silent. Furthermore, he does not emphasize how people marginalise this culture of silence in the form of dialogue. My dialogical observation of both formal and informal meetings made me explore these questions beyond false binaries.

Although, the members talk more in informal meetings, their silence was not limited to within their formal meetings. The members were silent despite having mutual relationships in formal meetings but they were also silent in informal meetings despite the absence of dichotomy. For example, two members talked in the informal meeting but the rest of them were listening to their conversation. Therefore, the binary between formal and informal seems to disappear. However, as Sumesh said, the silent members may share what they heard from their colleagues to others in informal gatherings. I shared this summary in evaluation meetings (29.10.13; 30.10.13 and 02.11.13). Renjini responded, ‘I should speak up in CDS meetings, because I must execute my responsibilities as a chairperson. But, in the Adivasi Co-operative Society, this is not needed because I am just a member,’ (Renjini, Evaluation meeting, 02.11.13). I responded, ‘You defended well the arguments raised by the non-Adivasi members in the CDS meeting despite being an Adivasi,’ (Syam, Evaluation meeting, 02.11.13).

As discussed previously, Renjini’s silence is hard to explore from a Freirian perspective. Other factors facilitated her to form dialogue and silence in both meetings respectively: on the one hand, she was not simply a silent recipient of her non-Adivasi members. However, on the other hand, she was silent in the Adivasi Co-operative Society’s meeting due to lack of experience. It is

hard to say whether or not she was silent simply because she was a woman, because the male members were also silent. However, being anAdivasi did not make her silent in her engagement with her non-Adivasi members in the CDS meeting. Lack of experience and leadership responsibilities made her silent in the Adivasi Co-operative Society's meeting. In short, these common experiences of silence and oppression do not form an upper/lower caste dichotomy. Similarly, silence in NHG meetings does not form a teacher/student dichotomy because the leaders were more silent than the members.

Freire (2000) considers the teacher as spoken and the students as silent representatives, but not the other way around. In contrast to Freire I explored silence beyond the binary between leader-oppressor and member-oppressed in these meetings. The leaders were also silent just like members in their execution of responsibilities as the teacher and the students respectively. The president was more *silent* than the members in the NHG meetings (22.10.13; 29.10.13). Similarly, the NHG president seemed to be very shy in both meetings. She just smiled at me and simply answered my questions but nothing more. Similarly, the NHG secretary was *silent* in the ADS meeting (01.10.13). Likewise, the CDS chairperson was *silent* in the Adivasi Co-operative Society meeting. But, she was very chatty in the CDS meeting, but responded to the questions raised by her members (05.10.13). Similarly, Deepthi was talkative in both the NHG and ADS meetings despite just being a member (29.09.13 and 06.10.13). Unlike Deepthi, the other members did not talk much in the NHG meetings, which is evident from the audio tapes of these meetings. Nonetheless, Deepthi took some time to initiate her talk.

The participants raised many reasons for their silence and speech shame. They unequivocally admitted that their long experiences of marginalisation made them silent and caused them to marginalise themselves. These narratives reflect on some of the stories of the participants to some extent. However, the participants acknowledged that their experience of marginalisation was not the only reason for their silence. I raised my opinions in evaluation meetings:

> As I said before, you may not talk well when you face many people; you do not have the same experiences as me. Historically, tenants should cover their mouth (see Figure Seven, p111) when replying to their masters or lords. Similarly, women were supposed to talk but should hide behind doors to listen to their male counterparts in family meetings. (Syam, Evaluation meetings, 30.10.13 and 02.11.13)

My analogy between education and neighbourhood meetings led me to explore the false binary between silence and dialogue. For Freire, silence is the result of their immediate classroom experience of oppression from the teacher. He discusses silence in relation to the teacher/student

dichotomy in the classroom. Furthermore, silence is not merely related to our immediate experience of banking education in the classroom. Similarly, the mutual relationship between the teacher and the students does not immediately contribute to dialogues. This is due to the fact that marginalised community members including the participants and I inherit silence and dialogue socially and historically; old forms of oppression and marginalisation educate us to silence ourselves in ways that themselves act as banking education.

We can also be silent because we were silenced by the caste system: we were not allowed to speak loudly in front of landlords; we had been marginalised from the formal education system; we did not have much opportunity for formal communication. Kudumbashree members belonging to the Adivasi community marginalise formal meetings because formal education has already stopped the Adivasi community from talking. Freire links silence to banking education and absence of critical consciousness, yet he considers dialogue as a means to develop critical consciousness in problem-posing education. He does not address silence as critical consciousness and as a means of dialogue. I had a similar experience of being silent in an awareness class for the SC/ST community. Consequently, I realised that Freire's ideas are insufficient to explore silence as resistance to oppression.

Figure Fifteen
Silence as oppression and resistance to oppression

Two women are responding to a stage announcement
(Participant observation of Social Solidarity Day, 16.10.13)

You are all requested to stay over after the meal; there is one awareness class to be delivered by a former judge.It is mandatory for all ST promoters

However, most people left soon after this speech except for the Adivasi promoters. When I heard this announcement, I asked Renjini and Deepthi. 'Aren't you both going to attend the seminar?' They just smiled and stretched their fingers (in Kerala, we use these gestures to mean 'no'). As discussed before, members are tired of training programmes that replicate similar content. There

was a follow-up of their refusal to attend the seminar in the evaluation meeting (29.10.13). 'We have attended many classes like this,' (Renjini, 29.10.13). These conditions of oppression caused a silent withdrawal of people from these meetings. The seminar in question started around 1.30 pm and a former judge from a marginalised community delivered the seminar:

> He suddenly walks through the middle of the audience. He is in a suit and coat, very serious and never looks at the audience. Everybody stands up as a gesture of respect. He then waves his palm towards the audience to mean *sit* down. He breaks his silence with, 'How many of you are ST promoters?' The ST promoters stand up and raise their hands to confirm their presence. It looks like a traditional classroom in Kerala where the teacher takes attendance by counting the students' heads. During his talk, he kept asking, 'Are you listening to me? Hey young man... You... (pointing finger towards the audience) here.' 'Listen to me.' 'Keep quiet.' On another occasion he raises his voice as he is angry. 'Do not talk to each other!' 'Do not fall sleep!' 'Everyone should take their seats and come to the front. No one should stand up.' (Participant observation of Social Solidarity Day, 16.10.13)

I could not sit in the front row as I was over whelmed by his authoritative voice and facial expressions. He himself was positioned as a wise person and his participants as the opposite. I moved to the back of the room and I felt offended and annoyed. He finished his talk without giving us a chance to respond. He positioned himself as a banking educator and his talk was the typical teacher monologue that Freire (2000) illustrates in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. The Kudumbashree members challenge this realm of silence by using silence.

To some extent the above awareness class reflected on my previous classroom experience of silence as presented in Section 2.3.3. One of the reasons behind my silence was the dominant gestures of my teacher. His official dress code and facial expressions made me fall silent. When I shared my experiences, the CDS chairperson responded: 'Most of our awareness classes are like this. We rarely had a chance to discuss. Even if there are opportunities to talk, people do not talk,' (Evaluation meeting, 02.11.13).

His class indeed reflected on how the teacher uses silence to discipline his/her students and produces silence in banking education classrooms. This class was more or less the same as what Freire (2000) defines as a culture of silence. Many scholars (Hao, 2011; Reinelt and Roch, 1992) have criticised Freire for polarising silence as the opposite to dialogue; the teacher who talks and the students who perform silence does not necessarily contribute to banking education. In addition, dominant education can make students silent, but the students can also perform silence in the form of resistance. It is significant how silence operates differently in formal and informal

gatherings. Students within marginalised communities might be shy or less talkative when they sit together with their colleagues and teachers from elite communities (Kohl, 1994; Kincheloe, 2005; Jaworski and Sachdev, 1998). In contrast, I find that silence is not always related to the commonalities or differences between the speaker and the participants.

Turning back to the awareness class, the trainer does not belong to the Adivasi community but the audience do. The trainer and the audience, including myself, belong to a marginalised community. However, this commonality did not stop the trainer from silencing us, nor did it make him talk much to his own marginalised colleagues. In this meeting, the participants, including myself, are silenced in the same way as we are silenced in society. As discussed in 2.1.1, Freire (2000) overemphasizes the teacher-oppressor/ student-oppressed relationships in the larger context of silence rather than the local. In contrast to Freire, I identified that, despite being a member of the oppressed, the trainer became a banking educator with his professional identity as a retired judge; he thus silenced his own marginalised peers. So, I go beyond Freire's dichotomy between teacher and student and between the oppressor and the oppressed to explore these forms of silence in meetings.

As I stated in the evaluation meeting (02.11.13), both leaders and members hold many identities making them silent or not silent and defend the realm of silence. In addition, these identities do not occur constantly but may vary depending upon the nature of platforms and the identity of people forming dialogues. I stated: 'I made mistakes and I was bit anxious when I presented my work in your CDS, ADS and Tribal Co-operative Society meetings. However, this was not the case when I came to your neighbourhood meetings,' (Syam, Evaluation meeting, 02.11.13). These reflections made me realise why some participants were silent in formal meetings. It is not only the formal environment that makes people silent but also the different identities of the participants. Members communicate more outside their formal meetings.

Freire (2000) argues that silence is the outcome of social, economic and political domination. According to Freire, power relations are the crucial factor in producing silence. Similarly, different identities of leaders and members determine how people talk and how they remain silent in meetings. For instance, the NHG president was in her post for the first time. However, the NHG member Deepthi has held similar offices in the past. Moreover, she comes from a relatively rich Kuruma family in that area. Her husband is the ward member and her father-in-law was the previous ward member. However, these factors are more or less absent in the case of the

president: she lives in a small house and her husband works for a daily wage. Likewise, Shobha has been a part of different beneficiary groups formed by the local NGOs. In both NHG meetings (see Figure Thirteen, p 236), most members were silent except for Deepthi and Shobha. These meetings did not show any sort of dichotomy or domination even though there were many instances of silence.

In contrast to Freire (2000), the reason for the silence of audience members at these meetings was not an immediate result of dichotomy or domination: it was more related to their long years of marginalisation from formal gatherings. Most members are silent despite forming mutual relationships with others. According to the participants, everyone has the opportunity to speak and they are not restricted from talking. The meeting itself does not prevent people from talking or from contributing to silence. There are no explicit instances of domination or dichotomy in the NHG meeting, but still it creates silence. As discussed in Section 2.3.3, Freire does not explore the different ways in which silence occurs in both banking and problem-posing classrooms. Although the NHG meetings themselves are banking, the members experience both models of education in meetings. Therefore, silence and dialogue co-exist because banking and problem-posing education also co-exist in meetings.

Many members marginalised the awareness class in order to stop themselves from becoming silenced. As discussed above, despite being only a member, Deepthi talked more than her leaders in the NHG and ADS. Deepthi explained that 'in every meeting, both the president and the secretary ask me 'You please talk'. That is why I talk all the time.' This narrative reminded me of the way in which the participants marginalised our initial meetings without participating explicitly. However, Sumesh and Kannan brought a different argument:

> If I talk about crop failures and new methods of farming, my colleagues will ask me 'Why don't you take over as president? Why don't you take more responsibilities?' This makes people silent even though they have some ideas. If I say a few words in that realm of silence I would be in 'trouble', ha-ha (laughing). (Kannan, Evaluation meeting 29.10.13)

Kannan talks about why people do not talk and how people use silence to deal with the banking forms of meetings. Sometimes, silence might show the way people marginalise the responsibilities that are imposed onto them. While responding to these narratives Sumesh said:

> It is so funny when absentees are forced to take on the role of president or the secretary without their knowledge. When people find out about this they are angry. 'Why did you put my name down before letting me know?' There are many people who know a lot of things and can speak very well.

> But they cannot utter a single word because of this. (Evaluation meeting, 29.10.13)

Kannan further argued that there are occasions where people are silent due to stage fright:

> I can talk about these issues to you. But I am not confident to talk to someone from a government department. I don't know the reason why. It may be due to laziness, fear, etc. My body sometimes shakes or I lose confidence when try to discuss some issues. Even though I have many things to offer, my tongue and mouth will not let them out on such necessary occasions. (Kannan, Evaluation meeting, 29.10.13)

Kannan's stories reveal that members are silenced in different contexts. First, he talked about how meetings silence members and how the leader and members marginalise each other using silence. Second, he talked about the circumstances that make him silent. When I posed similar questions many participants said: 'Once I started I was fine. Most of us had the same problem,' (Deepthi, Evaluation meeting, 29.09.13); 'I am concerned about making mistakes. Even those who are educated do not speak much,' (Shobha, One-to-one dialogue, 19.09.13); 'People are silent because our colleagues laugh at them if they make mistakes or if they use a Kuruma word or accent while delivering their speeches,' (Rajan, Evaluation meeting, 29.10.13). Madhavan, an informal participant, also shared similar reason for his silence in the meeting of the Adivasi Co-operative Society (05.10.13). Many factors play a crucial role in forming silence. Silence sometimes shows people's speech shame or incapability to talk; silence can also be communicative for people to prevent themselves from being oppressed. For Freire (2000), having internalised the image of the oppressor, the teacher silences his/her own students in the banking education classroom. In contrast to these ideas, it is neither the leader nor the members who explicitly silence each other, but the participants' stories reveal that it happens at an implicit level. In other words, it is the interaction between the leaders and members make them silent.

Contrary to Freire's (2000) opinion, silence does not necessarily reflect an absence of critical consciousness but it may happen the other way around. For example, the examples given by Sumesh and Kannan reveal that silence is the effect of banking meetings; it is also a sign of their critical awareness of banking meetings and the potential of that awareness to marginalise meetings. Additionally, it shows the way they oppress and marginalise their own marginalised colleagues. Therefore, the notion of silence is complex and hard to define uniformly using Freire's opposition between silence and dialogue. It varies from person to person for the same meeting; similarly, it varies from meeting to meeting for the same person. Silence can be a part of oppression; in addition, silence can be productive, and communicative; and dialogues thus can happen in silence (see Tables Seventeen-to-Nineteen, pp 136-138).

5.6 Lessons from the meetings and narratives of the participants

This chapter explored the parallels between meetings and education beyond false binaries. For Freire (1998b; 2000), banking education is a means of depositing knowledge. Nevertheless, Freire does not emphasize how platforms of education themselves are similarly deposited. Besides, Freire argues that banking education prevents people from developing critical consciousness and writes of how they resist banking models within their oppressive living conditions. Unlike Freire, I explored how meetings are imposed onto people in connection with education and oppression beyond false binaries.

The Kudumbashree members are forced to attend meetings and to mobilise people for the local elected representatives and political parties. However, the members marginalise these meetings by not attending all of them. The ADS meetings reflect the way members challenge this oppression. However, the leaders claim that the meetings are organised for the welfare of the people and they have a patronising approach in telling people what to do, yet they are also sympathetic when it comes to providing prescriptions for people. Freire(1998 b; 2000)considers banking education as patronising while problem-posing education enables the teacher to love and be empathetic with his/her students. Nevertheless, the binary between patronisation and empathy is absent in Freire's works. As distinct from Freire, I identified that the leaders organise meetings to form empathy with their members despite being banking educators (see Section 5.2).

Freire (2000) argues that the oppressor use divisive tactics and lead the oppressed to develop a dual consciousness. He de- emphasizes the binary between the oppressor and oppressed, and between oppression and liberation. In contrast to Freire, I explored the idea that governmental and non-governmental organisations, political parties and SHGs compete with each other to deposit many SHGs on to people at the same time. Consequently, the oppressor divides themselves to take control of the oppressive world (see Section 5.4). Although these SHGs provide a banking model which leads to oppression, they also enable members to emerge from their older forms of oppression. While the meetings may on the one hand oppress the Kudumbashree leaders and members, on the other hand they provide them with the resources to liberate people from their older forms of oppression, which is evident from the changes in people's material circumstances and in the participants' narratives (see Sections 4.1.1; 5.4).

Freire (1994; 2000; 2005) places an emphasis on vertical relationships between the teacher as the oppressor and the students as the oppressed. However, he does not address how the students deposit knowledge onto them in a way to oppress themselves. I found that the Adivasi members marginalise meetings even if these are problem-posing. Additionally, the Adivasi communities marginalise opportunities that their own organisation provides them with. This is due to the fact that they are not used to taking certain responsibilities for themselves. Therefore, the past experiences of oppression have become banking and now lead them to marginalise themselves (see Section 5.4).

Freire (2000) presents silence as the opposite to dialogue, or dialogue as an alternative to silence. However, he does not address the binary between silence and dialogue. He does not emphasize how dialogue happens in silence. As distinct from Freire, I explored that both formal and informal meetings could produce silence. Although the members spoke more in their informal meetings, they remained silent in both. Similarly, the leaders were also silent, just like the members, in the formal NHG meetings. Silence is therefore not the result of immediate classroom oppression but related to their older forms of oppression. Unlike Freire (2000), I explored the idea that silence could be a sign of critical consciousness and resistance to oppression. The participants' narratives show that they remain silent because otherwise they will be forced to hold leadership positions in the SHGs (seeSection 5.5).

CHAPTER SIX

MEETINGS AS EDUCATION: IDENTIFYING CASTE AND MYTH BEYOND THE FALSE BINARIES OF OPPRESSION

This chapter addresses questions arising in Sections 2.1.2, 2.3.1 and 2.3.2 and revises many of them in negotiation with the participants. Section 2.1.2 critically approached the relationship between banking education and the caste system. Section 2.1.2.a examined the Brahminical myth of the Dashavathara-10 incarnations as a different period of Indian history: Omvedt (1971) argues that this myth represents the invasion of Aryans (Brahmins) over the indigenous communities in India and that it justifies the Brahminical invasion in India. Drawing on these issues, my enquiry's focus was to research how the leaders and members of Kudumbashree and community organisations follow similar established myths and how these influence their discussions. It was challenging for me to explore these questions because they did not feature significantly in the NHG meetings as these meetings do not have a formal communication. Furthermore, the members seem to marginalise these meetings for many reasons (see Chapter Five). Consequently, I found such issues with regard to their experience of education outside their formal meetings. I explored these issues accidentally in negotiation with participants' implicit proposals.

Section 2.3.2 showed how the marginalised community imitate Brahmin myths; this section only discussed these issues with regard to imitation and resistance. The participants revisited my questions in Section 2.3.2: they brought me a piece of literature questioning the dominant myths around the Vamana incarnation (see Figures Three, p43 and Sixteen, p 252). Section 6.2 explores how the Adivasi community perceive this myth beyond the false binaries of the education systems. Another question was to explore these myths in contemporary forms. The events that emerge as part of the participatory development programmes were not my original focus. Again, the participants' stories and implicit suggestions facilitated further review of Freire's (2000) notion of cultural invasion. So, Section 6.2 discusses participatory development in connection with caste invasion and myths beyond false binaries: between unification and divisive tactics; caste and secular; and invasion and imitation. Section 6.3 explores how discussion on caste itself contributes to caste oppression beyond the binary between narration sickness and communication.

6.1 Caste invasion, myths and problem-posing education: between monologue and dialogue

Section 5.3 looked at how the participants discussed their issues in their informal gatherings. My decision to review the myth of caste invasion emerged from the participants' implicit suggestions: Karimpan formed informal dialogues with potential participants just before our initial meeting (23.09.13). He discussed local forms of invasion and conquest over the Kuruma community in Wayanad (see Tables Twenty-to Twenty-two, pp 141-144). Binumol later suggested that I should collect a magazine (see Figure Sixteen, p252) from Renjini as this magazine depicted the myth of Vamana differently from mainstream literature. Drawing on these ideas, this section will answer the following questions (Sub Aims Four and Five):

- How do myths contribute to dialogue and problem-posing education?
- How do the Paniya community refine the dominant myth and shape their experiences of caste invasion and slavery?
- How do the Kuruma community discuss the myth that influences their experiences of caste invasion at the local level?

These questions were added to my original set; they draw on the participants' unique experiences of education and oppression outside of formal gatherings. Furthermore, such responses mostly emerged during informal dialogues (23.09.13) enabling me to not simply pose my original set of questions. In the initial meeting, Karimpan shared the local stories, of invasion of the Kshatriya Kings over the native Adivasi Kings in Wayanad, with potential participants:

> One day the princes of Kottayam and Kumbala visited here. One of them fell in love with the daughter of the Veta (Adivasi) king and he wanted to marry her. The Veta king accepted his request but he demanded that the wedding should follow certain rituals. The groom's family demanded in return, 'You need to sell us some crops; you should take all your weapons off and bury them. Also, you should allow us to play some music called the *KottumKuravayum*.' The Veta king did not realise their intention; the music was a signal for the guests to attack the unarmed warriors of the Veta king. They killed all the Kuruma men and then conquered our land. Later, they married young girls of the Kuruma community. (Karimpan, Informal dialogues with Kudumbashree members, initial meeting, 23.09.13)

Karimpan initiated this discussion whilst we were waiting for everyone to turn up for my first meeting. It was a novel experience for them. Deepthi said, 'I heard this story for the first time. It is very interesting,' (Initial meeting, 23.09.13). I noticed everyone listening to Karimpan curiously. The CDS vice-chairperson asked, 'Could you explain how this story is related to the rules of Kuruma marriage?' Karimpan then mentioned the four exogamous divisions within the Kuruma communities. I did not reflect on these issues although this featured a lot in the participants'

narratives. This is due to the fact that it is outside the scope of my research. Moreover, forms of marriage and kinship systems among the Adivasi community have been well established by sociologists, anthropologists and historians[7] in Kerala. However, the above story educated the participants to recall their older ways of living. Consequently, I focused more on their stories of caste invasion and myths.

Turning back to Section 5.5, the people discussed their life in the informal meetings. However, Karimpan said, 'We do not discuss these stories of invasion much on any occasions. Our community meetings do not do this either. If I do that nobody will listen to me. This is because people have been influenced by the Puranas,' (Evaluation meeting, 29.10.13). Karimpan implicitly discussed how the dominant literature has taken people's attention away from their own production of knowledge. Thereafter, he kept talking about the myths and hymns of the Kuruma community but not always completely as some parts were forgotten. Karimpan's story led me to pose Freire's (1985) notions of education as politics and the questions arising in Section 2.1.2.a.

In the same way, Karimpan's story prompted the other participants to find one literature-*Wayanadan Onakkurippu*;Vishnudas(2013:1) writes of how the Paniya community revisitthe Vamana incarnation of Vishnu (see Figure Three, p43) regarding the social stratification of caste in Kerala as shown in Figure Sixteen:

[7]Although the Adivasi community have been oppressed and marginalised historically due to the practice of caste, the social stratification within Adivasi communities are different from other marginalised non-Adivasi communities in India and Kerala. Many scholars including Vidhyarthi and Ray (1985), Madhu (2008) and Sharma (2004) have differentiated between caste and tribe particularly in relation to marriage rules and the kinship system: on the one hand, caste is an endogamous group that restricts people from marrying someone from an outside caste. On the other hand, tribe is an exogamous clan that restricts people from marrying someone from inside the clan (Sharma, 2004). The origin of each clan is related to their settlements over different territories (Vidhyarthi and Ray, 1985). Furthermore, the practice of dowry is not common among the Adivasi but it is more prominent among the non-Adivasi community (Madhu, 2005).

Figure Sixteen
The myth of the Paniya community

Source: Vishnudas, S (2013:01) Wayanadan Onakkurippu, *Nattuvettom*.September. Renjini handed over to me this article; Sumesh, Binumol and Remy translated the contents in Paniya language(16.10.13)

> There was a time when we were not slaves at all. It was the era of King Maveli. Everyone was treated as equal citizens. The society was not stratified at all: there were no tenants, no Paniyas, no Kurichyas and no Kurumas. There were no Nairs, no Nambiars; all were just men. Similarly, there was no burglary and no cheating either. Meanwhile, the Brahmin lords visited the Kingdom of Maveli (Mahabali). He welcomed them with an open mind. But, they conquered his land by cheating. Realising this, he asked for his land back but they brutally attacked him. Since then his whereabouts are unknown. They created all these divisions based on the colour of our skin. They shouted at us, 'Listen, you bloody *children of dogs* [sic]. This world belongs to the Lord Birad (Brahma). You all were born from his mouth, hands and chest. Your job is to do what we ask you to do. You should work for us in order to grow these fields.' (Translation)

The Paniya community rearticulate the Brahminical myths around Onam. The story encounters caste and its contributions to slavery and conquest. This sort of critical intervention is yet to be addressed in the story of Mahabali (Praveen, 2011:n.k) in Kerala's mainstream society:

> Legend has it that Vamana, Lord Vishnu's incarnation as a Brahmin boy, met the much-admired king Mahabali in this place with a wish for a minute crumb of land, something that can be covered by just three steps of his.

As evident from Praveen (2011), Mahabali was an Asura king who was kind to his subjects. Mahabali's contributions in building an egalitarian society in Kerala are commendable. Devas, the rulers of heaven, became jealous of him and wanted to derail his popularity. In several wars,

Mahabali defeated the Devas; he wanted to conquer their Kingdom forever. Being frightened, the Devas went to Lord Vishnu for help. Vishnu was then incarnated as Vamana, a Brahmin boy, who requested of Mahabali three feet of land for his puja (worship). As soon as Mahabali accepted his request, little Vamana grew like a skyscraper. Vamana already measured earth and heaven in two steps and asked for his third foot. Mahabali bowed his head with no hesitation; Vamana then stepped on his head and pushed Mahabali down to Pathala, the underworld (see Figure Sixteen). Before this, Mahabali requested, 'I wish to see my subjects every year.' Vamana conceded to Mahabali's request and so Onam is celebrated in the memory of Mahabali's symbolic visit to Kerala every year.

These myths mostly present the native rulers as demons on earth and the Devas as symbols of virtue. The story of Vamana depicts Mahabali as a greedy king even though he is generous to his subjects. Linking this story with Aryan colonisation (Omvedt, 1971), it is understood that the upper caste have formed such myths to justify their conquest of Kerala's territory. However, many writers including Praveen (2011) simply present this story in a descriptive way. The story of the Paniya is much closer to reality but it has been marginalised in the discussion of marginalisation itself by Kerala's mainstream authors. In an Onam celebration event, the state President of the Hindu AikyaVedi (Sasikala, 2013) raised some concerns about the increasing popularity of Mahabali in Kerala's mainstream:

> There is no proof whether King Mahabali ruled here. He might have been a kind ruler. The Vamana incarnation is given the least importance today. Mahabali is a devotee of Vishnu so Onam cannot be limited to commemorating Mahabali. But, today's politicians consider Lord Vishnu as a cheat who captured Mahabali's kingdom. Indeed, he tried to stop Mahabali from conquering his neighbouring kingdoms. Indian culture does not allow that nor do the Hindus (Sasikala, Onam celebration event, YouTube Video 08.09.13).

Sasikala seemed to be sarcastic toargue that Onam should be celebrated as the birth of Vamana, not his devotee Mahabali. Additionally, she questions Mahabali's existence in ancient Kerala society but she does not doubt Vamana's mythical origin. She thus refutes the arguments raised by Vishnudas (2013) to refine the dominant myth.

My engagement with these pieces of literature prompted me to refine Freire's (1994; 2000; 2005) teacher-oppressor and student-oppressed dichotomy. For Freire, the oppressor is the absolute authority of knowledge through which the oppressor justifies oppression. However, he does not

examine how the oppressed produce knowledge within the systems of oppression and banking education. In contrast to Freire (2000), the myth of the Paniya shows that the Paniya community are able to talk back to the Brahmin oppressor. Unlike Freire, it is evident from Sasikala's argument that the oppressor is aware of the re-articulations of the oppressed; these articulations lead the oppressor to rearticulate their old myths to legitimise invasion and conquest. The oppressed are not passive recipients of the oppressor's knowledge. On the contrary, they are also able to produce knowledge by themselves despite receiving such deposits. Yet, these forms of knowledge are marginalised in mainstream literature. Furthermore, the stories of the Adivasi community are not written down and the meetings of the community organisations rarely reflect their oral traditions. On the other hand, the dominant myth of Onam is stored in the participants' memories. Therefore, the tactics of the caste oppressor is not merely to deposit their knowledge but also to marginalise the knowledge of the oppressed. In response to this suggestion, Remya pointed out the way both myths differ in terms of language:

> This story represents real life. I can feel that it has indeed happened. It reflects the unique language of Paniya, which is different from the language used in the dominant myth. At the moment, young people do not use their own language. (Evaluation meeting, 26.10.13)

Remya raised very interesting questions regarding how their unique language is being marginalised due to invasion. I responded, 'My family members speak our own dialect; although I understand this I am not fluent enough; this is due to the influence of our official language Malayalam and the academic language English,' (Syam, Evaluation meeting, 26.10.13). Appendix Two discusses how this research would potentially reinforce the researcher/participant dichotomy in terms of language. As well as Remya, the other participants had related questions such as in Section 5.5 where the participants remained silent because their fellow members would laugh at them if they spoke in their Kuruma accent unintentionally when delivering a formal speech in Malayalam. Due to word limitations, I am unable to include these stories of invasion and marginalisation, of language, power and marginalisation (see Appendix Two). I did not discuss these stories in the final evaluation meetings due to confidentiality considerations (see Section 3.5.1) as some of these stories were personal and some of them were abusive. It is a major limitation that stopped me from researching marginalisation further within the marginalised communities.

Remya came up with a different argument from Vishnudas (2013). This showed her potential to raise related issues rather than repeating Vishnudas' findings. However, she did not discuss the stories of caste invasion and oppression. She also said, 'I know that this looks different but I am

struggling to point out those differences,' (Evaluation meeting, 26.10.13). Additionally, many participants did not find much difference between both myths. Nonetheless, Shobha did try. 'Do they talk about domination and slavery?' (One-to-one dialogue, 09.10.13). Karimpan said, 'It is what people create, some of them are true but some of them are manipulated; gradually people keep adding things onto reality,' (One-to-one dialogue, 09.10.13). All participants had only heard the dominant myth about Mahabali and Onam but not the myth of the Paniya community. These narratives prompted me to identify the differences between both myths in the form of dialogue without imposing things that the participants did not know by themselves. Additionally, these meeting dialoguesmade the participants and I aware of ourunfinishednessand thus educated us (Freire, 1998 a).

Freire (2000) inspires me to learn that the participants are not expected to merely answer my questions. Otherwise, it would cause narration sickness. Although the participants' experiences are important in forming dialogues, I should not withdraw completely from my original set of questions. I tried not to force the participants to simply comment on my own questions. Contrastingly, I identified the differences between both myths in a way that allowed me to minimise narration sickness, of how the 'Paniya's myth does not mention Onam or Vamana at all; they instead talk about the Brahmins who attacked Mahabali. This myth clearly exposes the oppressor Brahmins, which has been marginalised in the dominant literature,' (Syam, Evaluation meeting, 29.10.13). These dialogues refreshed Karimpan's memories of caste invasion at a local level:

> The Pathiyars come from Karnataka, the Chetties come from Tamil Nadu. How many of us know what matters in naming our major villages? Meen-angadi, refers to the land of meen (fish)—one incarnation of Vishnu. Sulthan Battery replaced Ganapathi Pattom after the attack of Tippu Sulthan. GanapathiPattom refers to the land of Lord Ganapathi. These are signs of invasion and conquest. (Karimpan, Evaluation meeting, 29.10.13)

Karimpan revealed how the name of the lands dates back to invasions by the non-Adivasi community. Again, the other participants were not familiar with this information. 'I haven't heard these stories of the Kuruma community,' (Renjini, 29.10.13). Karimpan repeated that this was due to the non-availability of written records. 'Historically, we used to write on palm leaves that were later replaced by paper. I had some collections. But, now I lost them.' Other participants expanded on this. Sumesh repeated my arguments regarding their incomplete knowledge about caste invasion at the local level:

> As you said before, it is due to banking education. We only listen to what is being delivered in classrooms; we only study what is in text books. We do not have any opportunity to learn about these myths unless we listen to people like Karimpan or Raja. (Evaluation meeting, 29.10.13)

I responded with:

> This is why Freire talks about education as politics. There is politics in determining the content of text books. Since Brahmins have influence over the school syllabus they did not value our stories of oppression. Moreover, these stories are deemphasized in the dominant literature (Kosambi, 1950; Praveen, 2011).

These dialogues show the educational nature of our meetings as further discussed in Section 6.2.1a: Sumesh discussed why the knowledge production of the Adivasi community are marginalised in connection with banking education, which I introduced in initial meetings. The Adivasi community have created their own history while reflecting on the origin of caste invasion and slavery. However, they have few written records like the Paniya. As Sanalmohan told me, 'it takes considerable time for the oppressed to emerge from their immediate causes of oppression to discuss, theorise and write about them; great leaders like Ayyankali have not written down anything; what they left are their speeches (Telephone conversation, 08.11.13).'These dialogues taught me to refine Freire's notions of myth and banking education and explore caste invasion at the local level. Freire writes (2000:164) of myths that the oppressor deposits on to the oppressed:

> It is extremely unlikely that these self-mistrustful, downtrodden, hopeless people will seek their own liberation-an act of rebellion which they may view as a disobedient violation of the will of God, as an unwarranted confrontation with destiny. (Hence, the oft-emphasized necessity of posing as *problems* the myths fed to the people by the oppressors).

As discussed in Section 2.1.1.a, Freire (1998b;2000) does not discuss how people refine established myths and how they develop critical consciousness through myths to resist their oppression. Freire overshadows the dichotomy between myth/monologue and dialogue; the absence of and the emergence of critical consciousness; and banking/problem-posing education. In contrast to these ideas, I explored myths and caste invasion beyond these false binaries. The story of the Paniya community is that they violated the principle of Karma and the origin of caste; they attempted to liberate themselves from caste invasion where the banking models persist. It thus shows their emergence of critical consciousness and contributions to problem-posing education. Myths cause people to explore their history of oppression within which their life is socially constructed. However, the author of the Paniya's myth and the period of its establishment are unknown to the participants.

In a media interview Sanalmohan (2013), claimed that 'there is no archaeological evidence to prove the existence of Mahabali's Kingdom.' So, the Paniya's literature may also be treated as a myth like the dominant one. The Paniya's literature displays that established myths may not fully contain irrational forms of knowledge; in contrast, myths can reflect the reality of people's awareness of a greater extent of their oppression. Therefore, the Paniya myth is a monologue as well as a dialogue. It could prevent critical consciousness, but it could also lead to critical consciousness. Myths by themselves reflect some sort of real life, they inform people about past experiences of oppression despite being irrational. Therefore, myths can be problem-posing and help raise awareness when people could decode or refine established myths.

Although Freire (2000) talks about myth as monologue, he never addresses how myths can initiate dialogues, how people transform myths into dialogues and thus educate people. The Paniya myth re-articulates that the Brahmins have manipulated slavery and caste oppression using a mythical origin of caste. The Brahmins have deleted some content and added elements to the *original* one. The Paniya's myth does not refer to the Vamana who pushed Mahabali down to Pathala. In contrast, it depicts Mahabali with his childrenas being attacked by the Brahmins. It further adds that Brahmins invaded his land by cheating, and that marks the beginning of a caste system in Kerala. Freire (2000) argues that the role of banking education is to make the oppressed store deposits of the oppressor and learn by wrote. However, the participants' stories reveal that they have the potential to be aware of their oppression.

Freire (2000) argues that those who use a banking approach may fail to recognise that their deposits contain contradictions. Consequently, people turn against the domestication of the oppressor. Freire adds that the oppressed can take considerable time to achieve this struggle against oppression. The oppressed could understand their oppression through critical dialogues with their oppressed peers. Nonetheless, banking education does not facilitate this partnership but rather maintains the oppressor/oppressed dichotomy. Freire admits that people can be aware of their oppression due to the contradictory nature of banking education during the initial stage of struggle. However, the co-existence between banking and problem-posing education is missing in Freire's works. In contrast to these thoughts, I explored that people could develop critical consciousness to oppose their oppression within broader contexts. Differently from Freire, I found that the oppressed can challenge dominant myths despite experiencing banking education (see

Tables Twenty-to Twenty-two, pp141-144). Freire talks about invasion at the macro level, but I identified caste invasion at the local level.

6.2 Identifying participatory development as caste invasion and myth

Although my initial focus was on the contemporary functions of caste, I did not expect to explore questions of caste invasion. In his final chapter of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire (2000) addresses cultural invasion, conquest and manipulation as the dehumanising tactics of banking education. Section 2.2.1.c examined divisive tactics and duality, but it did not discuss cultural invasion. So, this section extends Freire's notion of invasion to discuss how caste functions with the sense of pseudo participatory development in Wayanad (see Tables Twenty-three-to Twenty-nine, pp 145-152). Section 6.2.1 elucidates how the caste oppressor transforms all marginalised castes into a single Hindu identity, in order to critique participatory development programmes beyond the binary between unification and division and caste and secular. Participatory development contributes to caste invasion at a local level and caste invasion is manipulated through contemporary myths. Section 6.2.2 extends these questions on caste while addressing the co-existence between invasion and imitation and resistance.

6.2.1 Division vs unification: between caste and secular identities

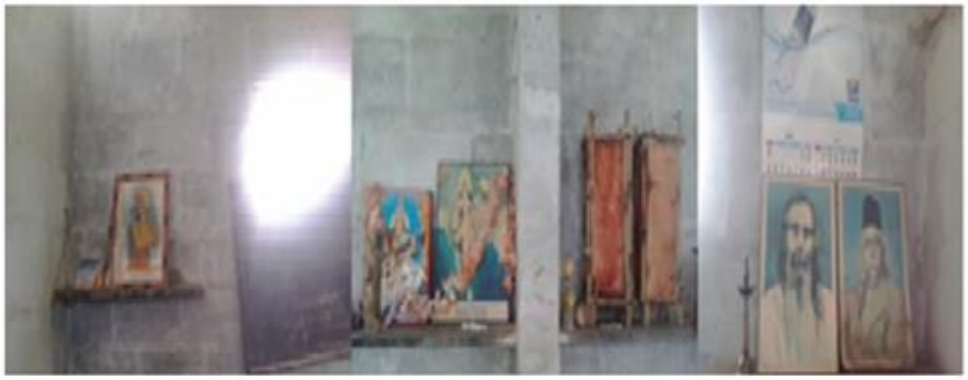
Freire (1998 b; 2000) illustrates that the ideology of oppressors is to maintain systems of oppression through divisive tactics. Section 2.1.1 addressed the relationship between banking education and caste and divisive tactics. This section revisits this relationship to address how events unify these divisions to contribute to caste invasion at the local level (see Tables Twenty – three –to-Twenty-six, pp 145-149;Twenty-nine, p152). Drawing on this issue, this section addresses the following questions (Sub Aims Three to Five):

- How do participatory events unify marginalised caste identities into a single Hindu or secular identity in the form of caste invasion?
- How does banking education justify them by mythicizing caste invasion?

Figure Seventeen
Events as caste invasion

On the left is the front part of the Bamboo Craft building- Vivekananda Mission-Kerala, funded by the Kerala SC/ST department. There is a white banner showing Ekal Vidyalaya. On the right, there is a sign wih a picture of the Hindu reformer Vivekananda in a Saffron robe. It shows the events run by the Mission during his 150th birthday celebration: Youth meetings; mothers' meetings'; parades; sun worship ceremonies; a family get together; a marathon and the Adivasi meeting. The following images show the inside of the building

Figure Eighteen
Brahminical icons



On the left, there is again a photograph of Vivekananda next to the black board. In the middle, there are icons of Saraswathy, a Hindu Goddess. On the right side, there are photos of the founding fathers of the RSS (Rashtreeya Swayamsewak Sangh),a Hindu organisation. (Participant Observation of medical camp, 29.09.13)

These photographs prompted me to review Freire's (2000) notion of cultural invasion. Freire claims that cultural invasion is a phenomenon in which the invaders penetrate the culture of the invaded; the invaders impose their own perceptions of world upon the invaded. Consequently, the culture of the invader becomes the culture of the invaded. These ideas have been extended to caste invasion in terms of the engagement of people in social events. Freire's idea of culture is too simple in connection with the division between the ways of lives of the oppressor and that of the oppressed. Generally, culture is considered as the sum total of ways of lives of people (Kluckhohn, 1944). However, this definition of culture is inadequate to explore the cultural differences between people, shaped or imposed by the caste system in the Indian context. In other words, the general understanding of culture or the separation between the oppressed and oppressor's

culture is limited to understand culture itself as imposed way of lives for people inside or outside caste. Moreover, this invasion may not always be perpetrated in terms of the Brahminical culture but also each upper caste's culture. Each caste has its own ways of lives, determined by caste norms (Ambedkar, 2004, see Section 2.1.2). Therefore, I use the term 'caste invasion' rather than culture to refer to invasion of the lower caste culture by the upper caste culture. This invasion of the upper caste may reflect in the acquisition of land or building; shift in the nature of worship, dress code (see Sections 6.2.3) and other traditional practices as well as the unique social structure of the Adivasi community (see Section 7.5.3). Linking Freire's notion of invasion with the previous figures prompted me to learn from/*with* the participants. Why is the sign there? Why is the tribal meeting mentioned only at the bottom? Why is the Mission interested in tribal meetings during the birthday of an upper caste leader? Why are there icons of their gods and pictures of leaders inside the state-funded building? These questions are further explored by linking with the comments of the Mission co-ordinator:

> The former RSS leader has visited many tribal inhabitants (Adivasi) across the country. One day he asked his son, 'What do you want to do when you complete your medical degree?' His son replied, 'I want to work with the Adivasi community in Kerala.'(Gopalan, Camp co-ordinator, Informal dialogue, 29.09.13)

The co-ordinator knew of the Mission's origin in Wayanad. He then told me, 'The Kerala State Scheduled Caste/Tribe department funded thisbuilding.' In fact, the land was donated by an Adivasi, although the land and building were later seized by the Mission. Binumol responded to this oppression:

> They bring Vivekananda Swamy to the front. People think that the Swamy does all these things. For them, the Swamy is a God and symbol of virtue. So, people tend to consider the place as a space for worship. (Binumol, Evaluation meeting, 29.10.13)

Similarly, Remya said, 'The Adivasi event is at the very bottom of the list. However, the rest of them are given top priority. It looks like a typical Savarna temple event,' (Remya, One-to-one dialogue, 09.10.13). Remya said straightaway that these events are conducted by exploiting the Adivasi community. She said that these pictures should not be used as the building was built for the Bamboo Craft industry. Moreover, the Ekal Vidyalaya propagates Brahminical values by teaching the Adivasi children Sanskrit hymns. As evident from Ambedkar (1950), the marginalised community were denied educational opportunities and prevented from learning Sanskrit or the Vedas. The Brahmins wanted to maintain their supremacy through the principle of Karma (Chapters One and Two). While reflecting on this oppression, I told the participants, 'the Vivekananda Mission now are*worried* about our illiteracy and welfare and so they are interested

in educating the Adivasi community,' (Syam, Evaluation meeting, 02.11.13). It is a sign of caste invasion in the name of development. Nevertheless, the co-ordinator claims that his organisation fulfils the *ambitions* of their leaders. It is a way of transforming reality into myth and imposing their ambitions onto people because the upper caste people find that the established myths are no longer effective to justify their invasion (see Section 6.1). The above narrative shows a new way of forming myths to justify their invasion of the Adivasi area. With these ideas, I extended my findings in Section 5.3 to refine Freire's (2000) dichotomy between oppression and liberation.

Freire (1994; 2000) does not address the dual nature of the oppressor in organising development programmes. Sections 5.1 and 5.2 discussed meetings and events with banking models. Additionally, the above narratives display that meetings impose caste icons that invade the local traditions of the Adivasi community. Freire's cultural invasion is significant when examining these forms of oppression but his ideas are incomplete to explore the functions of caste in its contemporary forms. Unlike Freire, I discovered that these events have become a means for executing caste invasion. Turning back to Section 5.3, Freire also does not emphasize the paradox of oppression. Our shared narratives and these pictures show that caste continues to oppress and marginalise people paradoxically: historically the marginalised communities, such as the Adivasi, were outside the caste system and outside the formal education system; today, the caste oppressor offers non-formal education programmes through which the caste icons invade public spaces. The Adivasi community take advantage of the caste oppressor: the Mission runs hospitals, and education centres where the Adivasi can avail of free services. This information is seen in Rajan's comment on this dual nature of caste oppression:

> My neighbour ... he is now a Pentecostal Christian. As you know Hindus form a majority here. It is a form of counter (sic) conversion against Christianity and Islam. But, I am not sure about what other participants would say. (One-to-one dialogue, 16.10.13)

As a member of the BJP, Rajan said that the RSS were anxious about the growth of conversions to minority religions (see p295, Section 7.6). This concern has led them to label all the marginalised castes as Hindu. Similarly, Remya said, 'Within the Adivasi communities, many Kurumas and Kurichiyas resemble Nairs. Members of all these communities also adopt their dress code, which could be part of caste invasion as you said. Similarly, many Kattunaikkas and Paniyas have become Pentecostal Christians,' (Evaluation meeting, 29.10.13). I then replied:

> I saw this practice in my community too. However, the latter is easily identified as the deliberate action of those who convert. But, the former cannot be identified as conversion because we all are formally Hindus despite being divided. We could probably call this caste conversation/invasion rather than religious. (Syam, Evaluation meeting, 29.10.13)

I then shared another experience that occurred when I went home to have a little break: 'One day three young RSS workers visited my home and said, 'we conduct a rally next week. You are invited. Please attend with all your family members,' (09.10.13). The RSS organise public and spiritual events during Hindu festivals. These events make them serve both the public and the spiritual needs of all Hindus without discriminating against anyone. Consequently, the authorities of Hindu organisations *prove* that they are beyond caste; they are secular within Hindu communities. Drawing on these concerns, I continued:

> They do the same in the village where I was brought up. Historically, the members of the Viswakarma communities perform ancestor worship; we also worship Kali, Amman Goddess. But, at the moment it has changed. Interestingly, I saw the icons of upper caste goddess including Lakshmi and Saraswathy in your houses too like community. Our community temple was renovated in 1987 followed by the recommendations of a Brahmin astrologer. He suggested that devotees should give much emphasis to ShankaraNarayana, the combined icons of Lord Shiva and Vishnu, the choice of worship for the upper caste (Syam, story telling during evaluation meeting, 29.10.13).

There is literature on the dichotomy of caste and gender among the Hindu Gods and Goddesses[8]. These dichotomies have nowseemed to disappear, as Brahminical icons have become the preference for all caste Hindus. The Mission initiates projects and organises events replicating participatory development models. Yet, the Hindu Organisations arrange events that seem to *unite* all the marginalised communities into a single Hindu identity. In short, the leaders of the Hindu organisations invade the Adivasi culture by acting as participatory educational activists. As Freire puts it (2000:162), 'it is as if the metropolitan society were saying: Let us carry out reforms before the people carry out a revolution.'

[8]As evident from (Diesel, 1998; 2002; Kinsley, 1986),Kali, Durga and Mariamman are female Goddesses; they are considered to be wild, destructive and punishing. Sarswathy and Lakshmi are female Goddesses of the upper castes; they are considered to be benevolent and nurturing. Both forms represent one Goddess but her incarnation depends upon the context. The former is the preference of the folk community, including the Adivasi, but the latter is not. The upper caste worship Saraswathy and Lakshmi more than Kali and Durga. The former has Vedic-Brahminical roots and the latter has Dravidian roots.

Freire (2000) argues that invasion takes place in the form of reformist solutions and the leaders within dominated communities mediate them. For instance, the local leaders of the Vivekananda Mission come from the Pathiya community. Similarly, members of the Adivasi community have volunteered for the Mission. Again, these narratives taught me to extend my findings in Section 5.3: the oppressor is also divided, just like the oppressed. The oppressors compete with each other to be the ultimate oppressor and take advantage of the oppressive world. This competition is evident from the increased growth of SHGs from religious, political and non-governmental organisations. Although Freire discusses divisive tactics as a means of oppression, he missed how this happens in the form of unification.

In contrast to Freire (1994; 2000), I explored that the caste oppressor uses both tactics simultaneously. For instance, on the one hand, the upper caste Hindus prompt all *lower* caste Hindus to unite under one Hindu umbrella rather than alienating them within the Hindu communities. Consequently, the caste oppressors reinforce the dichotomy between Hindu and other minority religions across the country. Both division and unification go together to mythicize caste oppression within the Hindu communities. Precisely, the discourse of caste not only invades the icons of the marginalised but also merges them into a general Hindu icon as a form of unification. Accordingly, the upper caste assumes that the caste dichotomy no longer exists. This happens at an implicit level more often because caste is generally considered to be an offshoot of Hinduism. People do not view caste as a means of invasion and marginalisation for their unique subject-positions. However, this is not an abolition of caste oppression but rather reinforces it on an implicit level. Therefore, caste itself is myth, which forms its own banking education.

Despite his criticisms, Rajan supported the Vivekananda Mission, saying: 'This industry did not flourish very much in the beginning as the government withdrew funding. So, the Mission took over. We should at least appreciate that,' (Evaluation meeting, 29.10.13). Sumesh too supported the activities of the Mission:

> These events are organised for the sake of common interests. The Adivasi community are not much bothered about anything. When they step back others come forward, which is quite normal. My opinion is someone needs to look after such things. So, we need to co-operate with them. (Evaluation meeting, 29.10.13)

Both Sumesh and Rajan repeated their initial opinions in the evaluation meetings. Their critical remarks have to be seriously considered when exploring why caste invasion takes place at the local level. People marginalise all meetings and events; this makes meetings banking. In the same

way, this leads to caste invasion and conquest by pseudo participatory development discourses. Sumesh claimed that the Mission's activities are secular. Likewise, the Mission co-ordinator said, 'Even though this is run by the RSS, it is secular in nature. Muslim leaders do attend our events. Even though there is criticism of the Mission, we look after everyone's interests. We do not discriminate against anyone,' (One-to-one dialogue, 29.09.13). These stories reveal that caste and communal discourses operate in the name of pseudo secularism. Indeed, such spiritual activities got a flavour of secularism as they have become a choice of everyone regardless of their caste identities. With these issues, I then shared another incident during the camp and my dialogues with Karimpan about this incident:

> I saw everyone taking off his or her shoes off before entering the building where the camp was conducted. I asked Karimpan why this was. He replied, 'Syam, can you not find these icons of Gods? Karimpan said that people must take their shoes off because there were icons of Gods inside.' I continued, 'Okay, I can see that. But… it is a public building; isn't it? We do not normally do that. Do we? Do you think it is okay to have these pictures here?' Karimpan replied, 'The event is run by the Vivekananda Mission and RSS.'
> (Participant observation of medical camp with Karimpan, 29.09.13)

Rajan defended my arguments, 'It happens everywhere, the MES (Muslim Educational Society) does this; Church does this; so what, everyone says that the RSS practise untouchability, but I do not think so, I have worked with them before. Even the Communists do that,' (Evaluation meeting, 02.11.13). For him, it is normal as it happens *everywhere*. Therefore, Sumesh, Rajan and Kannan did not find anything noteworthy about these forms of oppression. Reflecting on the Mission co-ordinator's narratives, I said:

> How could he claim that Mission's actions are secular by keeping the icons of Hindu Goddesses? How could he claim that it safeguards the interests of the Adivasi community with caste norms including purity and pollution? Caste now functions in the name of secularism, charity and welfare. The event not only invades the culture of the Adivasi community but also made caste operate in secular forms. (Syam, Evaluation meeting, 02.11.13)

However, Rajan and Karimpan seemed to refute my arguments as mentioned below. The co-ordinator's comments on secularism are empirically *true* to some extent. He said that many people across the village, including Muslims, got free treatment and the attendance register also confirmed this. Participants also supported these arguments during their one-to-one dialogues. Rajan said, 'The Congress does not do that, nor do the Communists, only the RSS does this,' (07.10.13). These participants repeated their arguments in most of the evaluation meetings and one-to-one dialogues. However, Remya had an argument with them: 'Why do they put up icons of

the Gods? Why is the tribal meeting mentioned at the bottom?' Rajan answered, 'That is because we are Adivasies, they can do whatever they want. Oppression is everywhere, it exists even today,' (Evaluation meeting, 02.11.13). Other participants then nodded their agreement.

The participants had different perceptions of these events: Rajan, Karimpan and Sumesh supported the Mission. Kannan, Renjini and Deepthi did not say much. However, Rajan, Karimpan and Sumesh negotiated their views in the critical dialogues with Remya. These dialogues helped me to minimise invading their views by posing my knowledge and experience. In then reflected on Foucault's concept of power to address the shift in the nature of oppression. Sumesh and Rajan played a crucial role in refining Foucault's notions of power and Freire's concept of problem-posing models and making our meetings educational (see Section 5.1.2.a).

As Freire (2000) argues, educational programmes can contribute to invasion if educators do not respect people's preferences; they could only preach in the desert and nothing more no matter how good their intentions are. Freire inspires me to view invasion as a part of the banking education of caste; it helps the Brahmins to maintain and reproduce oppression in new forms. However, Freire does not explore how oppression remains in the name of *humanisation, emancipation* and even *critical intervention*. The upper caste organise events to deal with the contemporary forms of marginalisation, which is the outcome of long years of caste oppression, slavery or feudalism. This is a new form of sloganizing and banking education of caste; which is set aside in Freire's work (see Tables Twenty-three –to-Twenty-six; Twenty-nine).

6.2.2. Caste and marginalising development

Section 3.3.2.b presented how certain names, for example *colony*, become marginal in day-to-day dialogues. Appendix Two addresses how language and power contribute to marginalisation in research interviews. However, I have come across these issues in relation to development as caste invasion. Therefore, while arguably tangential to my focus, the following experiences revisited the above question in my fieldwork (see Tables Twenty-three, p145; Twenty-four, p147; Twenty-six, p149). In Southern Wayanad, many people frequently use the term *colony* when referring to the Adivasi residential areas. I saw this increasingly on office boards and public buildings (see Figures Nineteen; Twenty).

Figure Nineteen **Figure Twenty**

Name boards: Marginalising development

Figure nineteen shows the name board of the ADS building. 'Manmadamoola *Colony*' is written on the third row from top. In Figure Twenty, there is well built by one panchayat in Southern Wayanad. Looking closely, one can see the board Alathoor *colony*.

Kannan responded to the above images:

> This is a very interesting finding. All Adivasi lands have their own unique names, for the Kurumas, it is called Thudi, for others, it is called Ooru or Mantam. For example, the Paniya myth mentions Mantom. They should have asked our opinions before naming it that. (Final evaluation meeting, 02.11.13)

As stated in Section 3.4.2, the participants and I shared our common experiences regarding the term *colony* as marginalising. Binumol said, 'The residences of the rich are also known as a *colony.* Living in a *colony* is a matter of prestige for them. But for us, it is the opposite,' (02.11.13). However, Rajan said, 'All these arguments are absolutely true. Living in a *colony* is probably *degrading*. But it refers to those conditions that made our life degraded. This would help us get funds from the government, ha haha,' (02.11.13). I then responded:

> The above figure (Figure Twenty) is a sign of the invasion and marginalisation of Adivasi settlements. Kannan donated the land. However, the Panchayat named it *Colony* just because they built the well. Therefore, they marginalise the efforts of Kannan and the traditional Adivasi land name Thudi. (Syam, Evaluation meeting, 02.11.2013)

Kannan said that these officers never asked people's preferences before naming the land as a *colony*. Since the reservoir and shed are built by the Panchayat they reserve its ownership and provide the shed with an official symbol. The land has different Adivasi names including Ooru, Mantam and Thudi, but these names are not taken into consideration as they indeed represent symbols of a marginalised caste. I learned from Kannan that there is not a problem-posing approach when naming Adivasi land. Such marginal terms are imposed onto them with pseudo participatory development. These names thus marginalise the language when representing the unique Adivasi symbols. Furthermore, Adivasi land implicitly becomes a public space. Consequently, caste organisations invade such spaces with their own Hindu icons. The term

'Bamboo Craft Muthanga' is now unpopular despite the sign. The building—Bamboo Craft Muthanga—is known as the Vivekananda Mission or Ekal Vidyalaya representing caste icons.

As discussed previously, it is the upper caste people who claim that there is no caste oppression. Consequently, the upper caste marginalises any symbols that continue to exist as a marginalised caste/tribe. Therefore, oppression is discussed in a *colony* rather than in a Thudi, Ooru or Mantam. Oppression or marginalisation in a Thudi would be more alarming than in a *colony*. Similarly, oppression in the so-called residential colonies is not always the same as in the Adivasi colonies. In this way, any forms of oppression could easily be generalised. This is a new form of banking education that mythicizes oppression and marginalisation in the Adivasi residences. My findings are different from Freire with regard to the following.

One form of oppression itself becomes a myth for maintaining other forms. Freire (2000) does not explore this way of operating both myths and banking education. The historical existence of the Adivasi community has been marginalised while transforming Adivasi land names into official names in a banking way. Scholars like Steur (2009) have explored how the general term Adivasi marginalises the differences within their communities: the Kuruma and the Kurichya are relatively higher income groups than the Kattunaikka or the Paniya community. The broader term Adivasi does not address these differences. However, she does not discuss these issues in conjunction with questions of caste invasion and contemporary forms of myths. In contrast to Steur, I explored the idea that policymakers unify such differences in order to legitimise the ideology of caste.

For Freire (2000), the teacher/oppressor alienates the student/oppressed from their existential life in banking education. Banking education does not encourage solidarity between both parties. Freire discusses a dialectical relationship between solidarity and alienation. However, Freire not quite examine the co-existence between the two and how the oppressor unifies the identity of each oppressed group in order to oppress people at an implicit level seem to be absent in Freire's work. Additionally, Freire claims that the oppressor uses divisive tactics to divide the oppressed majority. In contrast to Freire, I explored how this oppression operates paradoxically. Obviously, there are divisions and sub-divisions within the Adivasi communities that potentially endanger their unity by reproducing many forms of oppression and marginalisation, for instance, the practice of untouchability and unapproachability (see Section 6.3). However, the upper castes also try to integrate these differences into a single Hindu identity. In other words, there has been a shift from different caste identities into a Hindu identity. Yet, this does not mean the upper caste including Brahmins try to abolish these divisions. Therefore, it implies that being casteless and

being secular refer to being Hindu. This is an effective means of mythicizing caste invasion in contemporary forms. Freire argues that the unification of the oppressed disturbs the oppressor, 'Concepts such as unity, organization, and struggle are immediately labelled as dangerous,' (2000:152).However, he does not explore how the oppressor unifies the oppressed to oppress them further.

When discussing this unification of castes Teltumde (2012) discusses how the upper caste assimilates many castes under the same identity as a result of caste mobilisation for political purposes. The landslide victory of Narendra Modi (the leader of the BJP and the present prime minister of India) in the 2014 general election in India has been increasingly criticised by scholars on these grounds. Ahmed (2014:n.k) writes that,'the BJP victory is neither due to development nor due to anti-corruption but due to Hindutva dressed as development so that both were rendered synonymous'. Although Teltumde discusses the assimilation of castes into one identity, he raises these issues with regard to parliamentary politics, and he does not elaborate on these issues beyond just a paragraph. His emphasis is on the question of identity only. Ahmed also raises the issue of how Modi uses development as synonymous with Hindutva. Kapikkadu (2014 b) criticised Modi's victory in a media interview: 'Gujarath model of development was not an economic model, on the contrary, it was a political model that the members of the opposition failed to foresee.' For Kapikkadu, Modi's victory has to be understood in connection with neo-Hinduism that has created a Hindu polarisation against the Muslim community across the country; also, neo-Hindutwa propaganda largely transformed his small achievements into huge ones in order to make people believe that he had done a great job. Kapikkadu implicitly stated that neo-Hinduism and development together mythicize reality.

Again, these scholars do not elaborate on how caste operates at the local level. Moreover, the dual nature of oppression has yet to be addressed with much theoretical cognition. Unlike these scholars, I explored these issues in connection with banking education and caste invasion and myths at the local level. Additionally, I explored that caste continues to oppress and marginalise people in India in the form of pseudo secularism, pseudo participatory development and pseudo unity; unification of marginalised castes is not merely a simple political mobilisation of upper castes. It is a contemporary version of caste invasion and formation of myths and thus it is a contemporary form of banking education (see Tables Twenty-three, p145; Twenty-four,p 147; Twenty-six, p149).

Scholars who research caste are more concerned about the explicit forms of caste oppression. On the contrary, I explored the operation of caste in the name of community development, secularism and democracy. Unlike Freire (2000), the false binary between caste and secularism has also been examined in my research. On the one hand, events are organised on behalf of a cross-section of the population; public funds have been utilised and the Adivasi community have donated their lands to these programmes. On the other hand, cult icons seem to have invaded public spaces, such as in the Bamboo Craft Muthanga. These icons have become a part and parcel of the lives of the Adivasi community.

6.2.3 Banking education and caste invasion: invasion and imitation

Section 2.3.3 offered critical insights towards Freire's (1994; 2000) idea of imitation and its application in the empirical context of oppression and marginalisation in Kerala. In Section 2.3.3, the major questions for enquiry were to explore how the leadership executes their responsibilities, discusses issues and forms consciousness beyond imitation and resistance. Again, I could not explore these issues due to the absence of formal discussion and dialogue in the formal meetings of the Kudumbashree and the Adivasi Co-operative Society. In contrast, these issues are explored regarding their engagement in informal gatherings and the false binary between invasion and imitation are also examined (see Tables Twenty-three, p145; Twenty-four, p 147; Twenty-seven, p150). This is because I saw three participants in saffron dhoti just like their colleagues (see Figure Twenty One, p270). One participant wore a turban just like the leaders in Figures Seventeen and Eighteen (see p259); moreover he is a member of the RSS. Their narratives reflect back to my original questions of resistance and imitation. This section adds the following questions (Sub Aims Four and Five)regarding the issues of imitation and invasion in informal gatherings:

- Why has the dress code of the upper caste become the choice of the Adivasi community?
- How do people imitate or take over the dress code of the Brahmins?

Figure Twenty-one **Figure Twenty-two**

Shift in the preference of dresscode towards Saffron: invasion and imitation

In Figure Twenty-one, members of the Adivasi community meet together in this shed to read newspaper and to have a chat. People are in Saffron Dhoti, the colour code similar to Lord Vivekananda (Participant observation of informal meeting, 17.10.13).

Figure Twenty-two displays a wedding event of members of the Kuruma community in white Dhoti (Photograph collected from a participant)

When discussing the influence of Brahminical culture, Remya made connection between Figures Twenty-one and Twenty-two: 'It shows that the Adivasi culture is being influenced by the upper caste people. It is a general dress code of RSS. This is similar to what is seen in the Bamboo Craft Muthanga where the Mission initiates their programme,' (Evaluation meeting, 29.10.13). However, with regard to Figure Twenty Two, the participants were bit unsure whether it was invasion or imitation. 'It is neither invasion nor imitation nor resistance. It just happens,' (Rajan, Evaluation meeting, 29.10.13). 'People wear saffron dhoti as it does not look muddy,' (Karimpan, Evaluation meeting, 29.10.13). Sumesh had already made similar comments:

> There is one person who works with BJP but others do not. Saffron is the dress code of the BJP but now even Communists wear this. We normally wear 'lungi' [a multi coloured Dhoti] at home, but which is not suitable when you go out. Because of its dark colour, Saffron is a choice both at home and outside. (Evaluation meeting, 29.10.13)

Sumesh defended the questions of caste invasion. In addition, he implicitly told me that people's preference for saffron did not show their acquiescence of upper caste culture. He generated some thought provoking ideas to refine invasion and imitation: it does not always happen in relation to the large context of invasion/imitation, which Freire illustrates. People rarely do things without being influenced; and such influence is sometimes inevitable. For a detailed consideration of this dilemma, let us go back to Freire (2000:153) to discuss his notion of imitation:

> The more invasion is accentuated and those invaded are alienated from the spirit of their own culture and from themselves, the more the latter want to be like the invaders: to walk like them, dress like them, talk like them.

Freire explains the link between invasion and imitation. He illustrates that the oppressor makes the oppressed consider their own culture, dress code and mode of communication as inferior and that this is essential for the process of cultural invasion. The culture of the oppressor becomes the

culture of the whole population including the oppressed. However, Freire's ideas are incomplete to explore these issues in regard to the caste system in India: how the marginalised caste members imitate the dominant dress code, which they were not entitled to in the form of resistance. Hence, the Adivasi community choose themselves to do what a Brahmin or the upper caste does; they themselves choose to wear what the upper caste wears; and they themselves choose to talk about what the upper caste talks about. This unidirectional theorising of imitation would only contribute to a marginal discussion about their resistance to many older forms of oppression and marginalisation. While responding to these questions Karimpan said:

> I did not have a shirt to wear till 1980. I used to bare my top during a journey. People did not have money to buy them. On the other hand, my female friends were supposed to bare their chests. So it is neither imitation nor resistance (Karimpan, story telling during Evaluation meeting, 02.11.13).

Karimpan enabled me to extend my original arguments (see Section 2.3.3) in the evaluation meeting (02.11.13). I responsed with:

> I saw the Adivasi community both in *traditional* and *modern* dress. Many people, including myself, prefer traditional dress because pants, jeans and suits are not affordable. Moreover, it is not practical in a hot climate despite its increasing *demand* at official events. When I came to England I started wearing jeans and pants to survive the cold (Syam Evaluation meeting 02.11.13).

These dialogues educated the participants and me to understand that people's preference for the upper caste's dress code may not always be a sign of imitation, invasion or resistance. It could be a matter of their convenience/ inconvenience or a response to a change in material living conditions. In addition, such discussion covers other forms of marginalisation. In order to explore these issues in connection with marginalisation, I introduced a narrative of Muthu, an Adivasi leader to the participants, 'No. No. I do not want to see people like them. I want to see a proper *Adivasi* that we normally see in movies. (Muthu, television talk show, Nammal Thammil, 2011)'

The leader made critical remarks about how young researchers in the non-Adivasi community marginalise their transitional material circumstances. Those who research the Adivasi are only interested in people with traditional dress without realising to what extent the life of the Adivasi community has been transformed. Rajan responded, 'Most movies and TV shows present the Adivasi community as inferior and uncivilised. This is why that student made that comment,' (Evaluation meeting, 02.11.2013). Turning back to Freire's (1994; 2000) notion of imitation, the oppressed talk, walk and dress like the oppressor having internalised the consciousness of the

oppressor. To refine this, the Adivasi community could effectively talk and write *like* the upper caste, they could wear something *nice*; they could learn and write all of which they were not entitled to in the traditional caste system.

Freire (2000) addresses oppression regarding the class interests of the oppressor. Additionally, he particularly reflects on the issues of poverty in his home country. His writings have been very much influenced by his own experience of poverty being a member of a middle-class family. Freire's ideas are incomplete to address the empirical context of caste oppression and marginalisation in Kerala. Although Freire did not explore the caste system in India, his concepts of invasion, divisive tactics and myths are useful in understanding the social stratification of caste. However, the dialogical observation of informal meetings prompted me to extend Freire's concept of cultural invasion to explore caste invasion.

Unlike in Freire's (2000) theory, invasion does not merely take place with the total dependence of the oppressed's culture on the oppressor's. For instance, participants are aware of caste invasion despite being influenced by caste icons including that of the colour saffron. Freire argues that the oppressed imitate the culture of the oppressor owing to invasion. This action marginalises certain behaviours through which the Adivasi community resist caste oppression, for example, their preference for the colour saffron. On the one hand, saffron marginalises the differences within marginalised communities and transforms them into a single Hindu identity. On the other hand, it stops them from being marginalised by people. For instance, those who wore the traditional dress code were treated differently in events (see Figures Twenty-three to Twenty-six, p273). It is hard to then separate invasion and imitation and resistance (see Tables Twenty-three, p145; Twenty-four,p 147; Twenty-seven, p150). They exist together, and this makes the scenario complex; caste operates in new forms in such complex existential lives of the Adivasi community. Furthermore, upper caste Hindus use these complexities to legitimise their caste icons and invasion. Freire argues that society is structured by a complexity of ideas, hopes, and concepts that are in dialectical interaction with its opposites: the dichotomy between love and hatred; between religion and secularism; alienation and solidarity; unity and diversity. However, Freire never addresses the dialogical relationships between these binaries. Nor does Freire address how the oppressor uses the co-existence between these binaries to execute oppression in contemporary forms. I managed to explore how events reflect the binary between caste and secularism; public and private; invasion and imitation.

6.3 Marginal discussion about caste as myth: between narration sickness and communication

Freire (2000; 2005) argues that banking education mythicizes oppression. Myths exist in the form of slogans, prescriptions and manipulations but they look *real* (see Section 2.1.2.a). Additionally, this section addresses how the discussion about marginalisation is itself marginalised in events in the form of myths (see Tables Thirty-to-Thirty-two, pp152-155). This section examines the following questions (Sub Aims Four and Five):

- How do events contribute to untouchability in new forms?
- How do leaders talk about the older forms of oppression to marginalise contemporary forms of marginalisation?

Figure Twenty-three Figure Twenty-four Figure Twenty-five Figure Twenty-six

Untouchability and unapproachability as oppression and marginalisation

(Participant Observation of public events)

1.Tribal Cultural Festival 2. Tribal Cultural Festival. 3. Social Solidarity Day. 4 Watershed Project Inauguration

(06.10.13) (06.10.13) (16.10.13) (25.10.13)

The seats are full and mostly occupied by the general community on the right side facing towards the stage. On the left side, members of the Urali community sit infront. There are gaps between seats and most of the seats are empty behind the left row (see Figures Twenty-three ; Twenty-four. Tribal Cultural Festival). Figure Twenty-five also shows a similar scenario for the Social Solidarity Day. As in Figure Twenty-six, I saw a lady (who works for the organisation conducting the event) at the end of the row picked one chair out from the empty row infront of her; she then pulled her chair away to leave some space between the ladies sitting next to her (Watershed Project Inauguration)

In addition, the Adivasi community who were in traditional dresses were served food at the very end of the event- Tribal Cultural Festival. In the event Social Solidarity Day, they were not served food at all. In the Watershed Project Inauguration event, they were served black tea and the organisers were served white tea.

Turning back to Sections 5.3 and 6.2.1, policy makers and leaders compete with each other to form SHGs and organise events following pseudo problem-posing models. The leaders kept talking about older forms of caste oppression and marginalisation in most events, but they were unable to see the same happening right in front of the stage as shown above. This is further elaborated through sub-sequent observation of similar events:

> We cannot forget the contributions of the late MLA K Raghavan Master. There was a time where we were treated as untouchables and slaves. The society has fought similar forms of discrimination many times; due to the intervention of the society wages have increased; it provides scholarships and loans to tribal families (Sukumaran ,President, Observation of Adivasi Co-operative Society meeting, 05.10.13).

There is a similar episode:

> During this time my government has initiated new welfare programmes to deal with the issues of the Adivasi community; we have increased grants. Today's event takes place in the loving memory of our father of the nation Mahatma Gandhi. Leaders have worked hard to resolve the issues of the Dalits and the Adivasi community. (Jayalakshmi, SC/ST welfare Minister-participant observation of Social Solidarity Day, 16.10.13)

Similarly, the Pastor said, 'Caste-based discrimination existed in the past; it is hard to say that such discrimination no longer exists,' (Xavier, Pastor, Watershed project). These narratives contradict what is evident from the above figures. Being implicit Freire scholars, the leaders reflected on the issues of the Adivasi community in order to *avoid* forming narration sickness. They do not refer to caste oppression/marginalisation in today's public spaces. Similarly, they do not refer to similar forms of oppression that persist at an implicit level. The leaders still reproduce this narration sickness when discussing only the issues from the past.

Different from Freire (2000), the leaders form narration sickness by not completely alienating people from their oppression. The leaders claim that they are different from the so-called policy makers because they come to the people at grassroots level and reflect on their issues before implementing any projects (see Section 5.3). Their attempts to avoid narration sickness and oppression themselves create narration sickness because they alienate people from their ongoing experiences of oppression and marginalisation. Linking these narrations to Figures Twenty-three to Twenty-six, I told the participants:

> Most of these leaders try to convince us that caste oppression is over due to the efforts of great leaders. In this way, they just use their *Past* to marginalise the *Present*; for example, they kept bringing up old forms of oppression and their previous efforts to deal with them in a way to justify their invasion and marginalisation in new forms. (Syam, Evaluation Meeting, 02.11.13)

Some participants also responded in the same way as the leaders: 'I scored the highest mark in my class; my teachers from the dominant communities did not like that; they did not expect that from me. But, I do not think it happens now.' (Rajan, One-to-one dialogue, 26.09.13). During follow-up dialogues, I shared what I learned from the medical camp:

> A man called Kuttappan and a woman called Lalitha waited far away from the counter. I later knew from Karimpan that they were a couple who belonged to the Paniya community. Kuttappan sat on his knees by the side of the road. Lalitha was just standing nearby him. The couple did not come forward until I asked them. It seemed to me that they were waiting to be served out of the queue; nobody asked them to join the queue even though they arrived first. The officer at the counter did not even look at this couple (Participant observation of Medical camp, 29.09.13).

Why did the people not ask them to come forward? While responding to these questions, Rajan said, 'that could be untouchability.' But, he did not talk much about this. So, I did not continue this conversation. Karimpan also said that he had no issues while he was a student. As discussed in Chapter Four, I tried not to push the participants to discuss such sensitive issues. I focussed on what I learned from these events rather than expecting them to discuss such experiences. In the medical camp, I managed to share the above incident with Karimpan. He replied to me, 'Normally Paniyas are like that. Nobody marginalises them.'

Freire (2000) argues that the remnants of the previous society survive in new forms. This makes the oppressor invade the revolutionary society itself. Freire talks about contemporary forms of oppression due to prolonged cultural invasion; this could be dealt with only through cultural revolution. Freire considers new forms of oppression as remnants of the previous order. Nonetheless, he does not acknowledge how such discussion itself marginalises contemporary forms of marginalisation. These thoughts implicitly tell us that people today are less oppressed than before, which may not always true. Freire's ideas are insufficient to examine the way in which discussions about old oppression mythicize new forms of caste oppression; and the discussions about the *past* marginalise the *present* in Kerala.

As evident from Freire (2000), charity and generosity act as myths; likewise, it is a myth to say that the elites 'while recognising their duties' promote development for people, and so the people should accept the words of elite and agree. Freire also argues that the oppressed speak against their peers due to dual consciousness (see Section 2.1.2.c). Similarly, the above participants (Karimpan, Rajan and Sumesh) have developed a dual consciousness to some extent. However, their previous comments do not show a total confidence in these leaders. For instance, these participants do not hate such events completely because they too have benefited from these events that are imposed on them. On the one hand, they have developed a dual consciousness in their responses about the Vivekananda Mission. Yet, they have developed a critical consciousness about other similar events that are imposed on them. For example, the participants changed their opinions on incidents during the medical camp within the evaluation meetings. Figures Twenty-three to Twenty-six prompted this change in expressed opinion. In all of the one-to-one dialogues and evaluation meetings, I shared my experience of forming informal dialogues with the Urali and the Kattunaikka community during these events:

> I asked a young girl called Jayasree, who sat next to me if she got some tea. She just nodded to say 'no' with a smile (Tribal cultural festival). I asked the same question toa young boycalled Abhilash, during another event (watershed project inauguration): he too said no with a smile. 'I have not got it yet what can I do?' I asked him again when he was served just black tea while the others were given white tea with a biscuit. 'Do not you like white tea and biscuits?' He replied, 'Yes I do, but I have not got it.' I asked these questions to make sure whether they just asked for black tea by themselves (Syam, Evaluation meeting, 29.10.13).

It seems to me that both Jayasree and Abhilash do not have any complaints at all. I then shared the different behaviour of women who belong to the non-Adivasi community in the CDS meeting. These women shouted at Renjini, the CDS chairperson to complain that some of their colleagues were not offered *sari* during the Onam event. The participants (Rajan, Karimpan and Sumesh) came up with different ideas about the practice of untouchability in new forms while responding to the above story as well as to Figures Twenty-three to Twenty-six. In the evaluation meetings (29.10.13; 30.10.13; 02.11.13), the following questions were discussed: Are the members treated as untouchables? Do they choose themselves to become untouchables? These questions were discussed while being compared to their earlier narratives. On the one hand, formal meetings are imposed on people; on the other hand, they choose themselves to marginalise the formal *banking* meetings and events. This time, Rajan changed his initial opinion about the persistence of untouchability in contemporary Kerala society:

> Untouchability is still here. The Adivasi community are just like bait fish in the fishing net to catch big fish. They take their photos and use them to get fund. What they need is evidence; that is it; they do not care about these sorts of discrimination. (Rajan, Evaluation meeting, 02.11.13)

Rajan criticised the way leaders arrange meetings to take advantage of the Adivasi community. He added that the Adivasi members are seated in front to demonstrate that the event is organised for them. Likewise, Sumesh responded to these figures, 'They place the Adivasi community in front of the stage to prove that the event is organised for them; they are actually hired; that is why they don't really care about food or drink not being served,' (Evaluation meeting, 29.10.13). Karimpan admitted, 'That is true; we are discriminated wherever we go,' (02.11.13). Similarly, other participants apart from Renjini admitted that there were signs of untouchability. Shobha, Binumol and Remya agreed with my arguments, 'this is exploitation in the name of the Adivasi community,' (Evaluation meeting, 30.10.13). So, these participants are aware of the duality of oppression in new forms. However, other participants including Sumesh, Rajan and Karimpan did not have similar opinions until they formed critical dialogues in the final evaluation meetings. These dialogues enabled them to step away from their original dual consciousness to be aware of

the dehumanising nature of events. Additionally, the co-existence between their dual and critical consciousness was explored through dialogues. Consequently, it extended Freire's notions of duality and consciousness beyond false binaries (see Section 5.1.2.b).

However, two participants still doubted whether it was untouchability or not: 'Syam, are you sure that is untouchability? It might have happened accidentally?' 'They normally do that. They like to be waited on. When you come to the ST department you find people sitting on their knees and waiting to be served,' (Renjini, Evaluation meeting, 02.11.13). Similarly, Deepthi said, 'There are lots of spaces that probably made the general community sit away from us. Similarly, my colleagues themselves keep a distance from the general community,' (Evaluation meeting, 02.11.13). I responded, 'It is difficult to say sometimes whether they are treated as untouchables or they choose themselves to be untouchables. Most incidences may not always look alike; because people provide many technical reasons to defend themselves.' For example, the following responses show the way people technically defend these oppressions: 'the food was prepared next to the non-Adivasi people, that is why they were provided food first,' (Sumesh, One-to-one dialogue, 17.10.13). 'They did not mean to do that,' (Deepthi, One-to-one dialogue, 18.10.13). 'They did not like white tea or biscuits,' (Karimpan, One-to-one dialogue, 19.10.13). All of these are technical reasons through which caste operates in new forms; they happened in many events, not just one. Binumol and Remya then brought to me similar stories of untouchability in the events they participated in:

> We started noticing these things in some other events after Syam showed me these pictures; we found similar gaps between seats that have been occupied by the Adivasi community; but it was not apparent where the general community sat down. We will continue to look for these sorts of discrimination. (Binumol and Remya, Evaluation meeting, 02.11.13)

This story of untouchability reflects the way my research educated both Binumol and Remya; it also educated other participants to reconsider their original comments.However, some participants including Renjini, Sumesh and Deepthi still doubted these occurrences of untouchability, however. I then turned back to the leaders who discuss only the old forms of oppression:

> Caste oppression is not like a melting iceberg; we may not experience oppression like our forefathers. However, it does not mean that our oppression is no more; the explicit forms of caste oppression are definitely decreased. But, caste re-appears in new forms at an implicit level. As discussed before, the nature of oppression has been changed. It makes people believe that oppression is over. (Syam, Evaluation meeting, 02.11.13)

I then shared an interview of a young scholar (Ajithkumar, 2013) from YouTube. He discusses why people do not recognise these contemporary forms of caste oppression and marginalisation:

> They will talk against the casteism of yesteryears. Or against the casteism that 'still exists' in other states. 'In Bihar, in other north Indian villages, in Tamil Nadu.' As if in Kerala there is no caste in the public space now. Especially, for the upper castes!

Ajithkumar critiques the way Nairs and elite Christians marginalise contemporary functions of caste in Kerala. The shift in the focus on caste is their liberal approach towards caste. Those who talk against caste oppression of the past simply consider caste oppression as the atrocity perpetrated by a few brutal feudal lords. This means that only some people did this because they were yet to escape the remnants of the previous order. In other words, 'our forefathers have done that; so just critique them.' It has emerged from their guilty consciousness. They try to prove that there is no caste discrimination any more. Most of the films in Kerala depict these sorts of characters to marginalise the operation of caste in public spheres. Their logic is to discuss them without connecting to their underlying social structure. Ajithkumar's arguments supplemented my earlier discussions about the way leaders marginalise contemporary forms of untouchability by presenting similar stories of the past alone (see Figures Twenty-three to Twenty-six, p273).

However, Ajithkumar talks about marginal discussions of caste based on the binary between *upper* castes/*lower* castes in Kerala. For example, some participants initially defended the practice of untouchability while bringing similar sorts of narratives. In contrast to Ajithkumar, my dialogues with the participants helped me to explore how the Adivasi community also marginalise discussions around contemporary functions of caste. However, their narratives enabled me to critique Freire. In addition, they also negotiated their views during their critical dialogues with their colleagues and me. As evident from Freire, it is the awareness of unfinishedness that makes people educate. The participants were originally unable to see much of their oppression and marginalisation. Nonetheless, our dialogues enabled the participants and me to learn from each other. The tactics of the upper castes are to make use of older forms of marginalisation to marginalise people in their already marginalised lives (see Tables Thirty-to-Thirty-two, pp 152-155).

6.4 Lessons from the meetings and narratives of the participants

This chapter is an extension of the previous one: Chapter Five discussed meetings as education beyond the false binary between banking and problem-posing models, between oppression and liberation, and although this chapter also addresses meetings as education, there is more emphasis on informal meetings outside the SHG meetings. Furthermore, it particularly emphasizes the limitations of Freirian (2000) perspectives in understanding contemporary forms of caste invasion and myths beyond its binaries, especially as the issues of identity including caste are marginalised in Freire's work. However, my attempt was not to emphasize the broader context of the debate over identity politics. On the contrary, I explored oppression and education in relation to caste as a complex system of stratification. These ideas taught me to revisit the dichotomies: between oppressor and oppressed; division and unification; caste and secularism; and narration sickness and communication. Moreover, I learned this knowledge from the participants and through dialogical observation of their informal gatherings. Although I was critical of the banking and invasive nature of events, understanding these issues beyond these false binaries was limited. The participants' disagreements made me rethink and go beyond Freire's (1994; 1998a; 2000; 2005) false binaries of education and oppression: between banking and problem-posing models, between dual and critical consciousness and between liberation and oppression. Similarly, the meeting dialogues enabled the participants to move away from their original dual consciousness. Additionally, these dialogues educated the participants to critique me in the same way as they critique Freire, and banking and problem-posing models.

On the one hand, the Vivekananda Mission run hospitals and literacy programmes for the emancipation of the Adivasi community by replicating participatory development models of local governing bodies. On the other hand, there are clear signs of caste invasion, marginalisation of marginalised caste's identities, and promotion of Brahminical values. Historically, the Brahmins enjoyed a supremacy over education and learning Sanskrit, but they prevented marginalised communities from accessing these (see Chapter One). These explicit forms of oppression were justified through their origin theory of caste, which itself is banking education. However, at the moment opportunities are in front of the Adivasi community with their implicit goals of caste invasion and marginalisation. Sumesh and Rajan's metaphors of power as amoeba and people as chameleons educated other participants and me to reframe Foucault to explore caste invasion and the shift in the nature of oppression and power relations. New functions of caste are now justified by distracting people's attention from the past. On the one hand, dichotomy, domination, narration sickness, dual consciousness, monologue, myth and silence are major properties of

banking education according to Freire (2000). On the other hand, mutuality, communication, praxis, critical consciousness and dialogue are major requirements of problem-posing education. In contrast to Freire, I discovered the false binary between banking and problem-posing educationthat becomes a new means of oppression and education.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DISCOVERING THE INTERPLAY BETWEEN BANKING AND PROBLEM-POSING MODELS IN EDUCATION, RESEARCH AND COMMUNITY WORK: REVISITING FREIRE

This chapter sums up my overall learning experience, with major findings broadly categorised as theoretical, methodological and empirical. In general, I found that Freire's (1978; 1994; 1998a; 1998b; 2000; 2005) banking and problem-posing models, for him, represent binary opposites. In contrast to Freire, I discovered how both models are in dialogue with one another or co-exist in education, research and community work (see Section 7.1). At a theoretical level, I discovered the false binary between banking and problem-posing education. At a methodological level, I developed my own dialogical methodology for researching oppression and marginalisation in Education; andidentified the analogy between education and research (see Section 7.2). At an empirical level, first I discovered meetings as education and oppression; second, I discovered how caste continues to oppress and marginalise people (see Section 7.3). I then explored how these three findings can be generalised outside India (see Section 7.4). Finally, I conclude this chapter and thesis by presenting the unfinished dialogues as themes for future research (see Section 7.5) and considering the on-going nature of this research-education journey (see Section 7.6).

7.1 Theoretical findings: The false binary between banking and problem-posing education

At a theoretical level, I went beyond Freire's major dichotomies to explore oppression and education in general. Freire discusses school, society and family as agents of an oppressive society. While emphasizing the relation between society and education he discusses the dichotomy between the oppressor and oppressed and between banking and problem-posing education. My findings particularly challenge all these binary oppositions.

In contrast to Freire, I first identified that banking and problem-posing education cannot be separated. I discovered that banking and problem-posing education interact dynamically together in education, research and community work leading to both oppressive and liberatory practices; the oppressor uses this interplay for the sake of their own ends and people simultaneously play both roles as the oppressor and the oppressed. Education can be banking, problem-posing or both in the process of on-going dialogues. These can be seen in formal educational platforms, non-formal education platforms including SHGs orcommunity work programmes and in the field of research itself. Similarly, Freire's education needs to be re-defined at two levels. First, education (banking or problem-posing) is a process of learning and teaching leading to oppression and liberation simultaneously. In schools, this banking/problem-posing education together takes place between the teacher and the students; in community work it is between the leaders and

members and in research it is between the researcher and the participants. Second, education(banking or problem-posing) is an approach through which these learning platformsare designed; in other words education is an approach to design or implement learning practices, conduct meetings or research in both banking and problem-posing ways.

The oppressor uses both banking and problem-posing education in a paradoxical way to execute oppression in new forms.Similarly, Freire's concept of the oppressor/oppressed dichotomy is insufficient to explore the way people oppress each other regardless their different identities. Unlike Freire, I explored the idea that people who are engaged in different fields, including formal, non-formal or informal gatherings could oppress or marginalise each other (see Sections 5.1; 5.2; 5.3; 5.4; 6.3). The following sections explain how different features of banking and problem-posing models interact.

7.1.1. Between patronisation and empathy

For Freire (2000), patronisation is the main feature of banking education, and love and empathy are important features of problem-posing education. Contrastingly, I identified that the oppressor could also use love and empathy to impose their views and knowledge. So, I explored the idea that people could be patrons and be empathetic at the same time when working with their peers (see Section 5.2).

7.1.2Between liberation and oppression

Those who organise community and SHG meetings could unavoidably contribute to the banking model although they want to be problem-posing. When the oppressor takes up these dual roles, intentionally or not, new forms of oppression are generated or mythicized. This shows the ambiguity of Freire's idea of duality. Freire discovers the duality of the oppressed that makes them not develop critical consciousness. In contrast to Freire, I discovered that there is a duality of the oppressor that allows the oppressed to develop critical consciousness about banking models. For example, the oppressor negotiates with the oppressed while offering them pseudo-participatory community work; thus the oppressor takes on dual roles in order to become the primary oppressor in the competitive oppressive world (see Section 5.3).

Freire (1978; 1994; 1998; 2000) overlooks the separation between oppression and liberation: he argues that the oppressor divides the oppressed majority, and so the oppressed develop a dual consciousness and imitate the actions of the oppressor. He does not address how oppressors imitate each other by providing similar programmes, and he does not discuss how the oppressor divides themselves in ways that prompt the oppressed to develop critical consciousness. In other

words, the oppressed are unable to take advantage of the opportunities that the oppressor offers paradoxically. The oppressor cannot always survive by continuously oppressing people; therefore, they provide the oppressed with some opportunities in the new oppressive society.

7.1.3. Between teacher-oppressor and student-oppressed: the oppressed as its own oppressor

As evident from Freire (2000), there is a vertical relationship between the teacher-oppressor and the student-oppressed in banking education. This relationship becomes horizontal in problem-posing education. Freire does not emphasize how students oppress and deposit knowledge by themselves. I found that participants marginalise meetings in both banking and problem-models. Unlike Freire, I discovered that long years of oppression and marginalisation cause participants to marginalise their own opportunities. Historically, marginalised communities had limited opportunities. On the one hand, opportunities are now provided to them in both banking and problem-posing ways. On the other hand, they are unable to take advantage of these opportunities due to how they oppress themselves. It seems that they deposit knowledge by themselves, oppressing themselves and contributing to their own banking education. So, oppression is not merely an effect of banking education, rather, oppression itself contributes to banking education, through which the oppressed can become their own oppressors (see Sections 2.1; 2.2; 5.3).

Freire considers banking education as oppressive and problem-posing education as liberatory. However, Freire's ideas are limited to explore how both banking and problem-posing models themselves can be banking. I found that the oppressed could experience elements of both oppression and liberation in both models of education. Banking education is not always oppressive: the oppressed could develop critical consciousness by revisiting the established knowledge deposited by the oppressor, refining these deposits and posing them as problems. Similarly, problem-posing models can be unintentionally less oppressive: while implementing a problem-posing model, participants can marginalise the model and thus become oppressors just like the advocates of the model. Again, Freire's dichotomy between oppressor and oppressed and between teacher and student is vague. Those who work with problem-posing model could simultaneously exchange these roles as teacher-researcher-oppressor and student-participant-oppressed in their on-going process of dialogue and participation (see Sections 4.1.1; 5.3; 6.1).

7.1.4 Between silence and dialogue

Freire (1995; 2000) considers the teacher as the spoken and the students as silent: silence is considered a sign of oppression and absence of critical consciousness, and dialogue is a means to break silence. Unlike Freire, I discovered that silence could be productive and communicative to resist oppression, and thus could display signs of critical consciousness. In addition, I discovered that formal meetings made both the leaders and the members silent due to how we have been marginalised historically from formal platforms of education and, thus, silenced by the caste system in Kerala's mainstream society (see Sections 2.3.3; 5.5).

7.1.5 Myths and problem-posing education: between monologue and dialogue

Freire (2000) argues that the oppressor forms myth in the form of a monologue. Myth does not generate true words and thus it curbs the critical consciousness of the oppressed. Unlike Freire, I found that the oppressed refine established myths leading them to form dialogue, produce knowledge and develop critical consciousness. So, myth can be a monologue as well as a dialogue; banking as well as problem-posing (see Section 6.1).

7.1.6 Between narration sickness and communication

Freire (2000) uses the term narration sickness to criticise how the teacher's descriptive presentation of knowledge alienates students from their existential life. However, Freire is insufficient to address how communication can descend into narration sickness. I explored how a discussion about oppression or marginalisation, which may not always be a simple description of knowledge, can itself form narration sickness.

7.2 Methodological findings: development of dialogical methodology in Education

At a methodological level, I developed a dialogical methodology in Education. Dialogical methodology should be understood philosophically and empirically: Freire's problem-posing education and its different elements of participation, dialogue, praxis and reflection together shaped the philosophical aspects of dialogical methodology. On the other hand, the empirical aspects of my dialogical methodology were grounded in different qualitative techniques for data collection, transcription and analysis in dialogue with the participants (see P79).

- Dialogical methodology enables both the researcher and the participants to share their knowledge and common experiences, negotiate their preferences with one another, evaluate each other's behaviour and thus educate each other in their on-going research-education journey (see Section 7.6).
- Dialogical methodology enables the researcher to revisit his/her initial focus, research questions and methods of data collection and analysis in an on dialogue with the participants; it minimises the oppressive potentials of fieldwork for both the researcher and the participants. As a result, interpersonal engagement was deepened, and fears/suspicions regarding my position and background were allayed.But, dialogical methodology can be unavoidably less banking. However, this does not mean that a researcher should deliberately mix both banking and problem-posing approaches.

7.2.1 The parallels between education and research

I propose a parallel between education and research, another contribution at the methodological level. I identified that Freire was ambiguous about both banking and problem-posing models in understanding the relation between research and education on two levels: first, to address the way research can be conducted in banking/ problem-posing ways; second to address the ways both the researcher and the participants teach and learn from each other (see Sections 7.2.1.a; 7.2.2.b). Freire's (2000; 2005) concept of education is vague as he did not point out the difference between education as learning and education as an approach (banking or problem-posing) that determines the nature of learning platforms . So, the parallel is twofold. First, research is educational in the Freiain sense as research can be banking, problem-posing or both in the way fieldwork is conducted, the way participants are accepted or not; the way enquiry's focus is planed or revived. Second, research is educational in banking, problem-posing or both ways in the way both the researcher and the participants teach and learn from each other. Research can be intended to be problem-posing and liberatory when it becomes dialogical and co-produces

knowledge with the participants; it can be unavoidably oppressive when it becomes banking to impose knowledge on each other (see Section 5.1).

7.2.1.a Research as banking/problem-posing education

Participation, praxis and dialogue are cardinal features of Freire's (2000; 2005) problem-posing model; he considers these features as a way to deal with oppression. However, he does not address how researchers' attempts to form dialogue and praxis itself become unavoidably oppressive. In contrast to Freire, I explored how research can be oppressive when it is banking; similarly, research can be educational when it is problem-posing: For Freire (1994), the outstanding feature of the problem-posing model is mutuality. However, he does not address how the researcher reinforces oppression when ensuring this mutuality. In contrast to Freire, I explored how the researcher or the participants could oppress or marginalise each other unintentionally: their conversations can descend into narration sickness and monologue when the narratives of one member are irrelevant to the others, and vice-versa (see Sections 4.3; 6.3).

7.2.1.b Research is educational when it is dialogical

Freire's game with the agricultural workers in Brazil reflects the mutual relationship between the researcher and the participants. What I learned from this game is that it is possible for research to become educational for both the researcher and the participants, as both Alcoff (1992) and Fielding (2004) point out. Freire does not address the extent to which this mutuality is possible in education or research. Nor did the aforementioned scholars address how participatory research can be oppressive. In contrast to Freire, I explored the idea that mutuality could slip back to dichotomy, and people's participation can become unavoidably less banking. In contrast to Freire, Alcoff and Fielding, I explored the idea that research could be sometimes researcher-centred, and sometimes participant-centred.

I educated the participants when posing Freire's and Foucault's (1980) concepts of oppression and power. The participants refined Foucault with metaphors of power as amoeba and people as chameleons, and thus educated me in return (see Section 5.1.2.a). However, my speech unintentionally silenced the participants initially. Similarly, the participants unintentionally marginalised me with their narratives of exogamy and kinship. While the participants learned some English vocabulary when I code-switched between English and Malayalam words, my code-switching sometimes silenced or marginalised them. Similarly, although I learned some of the Kuruma dialect when they code-switched in the NHG and evaluation meetings, the participants silenced and marginalised me (see Appendix Two). The literature of the Paniya community (see Figure Sixteen, p252) shows that myths can be problem-posing, as they unpacked similar stories

of caste invasion, and thus educated me and the participants. Similarly, the participants educated themselves by revisiting their initial positions, thus transforming their dual consciousness into critical consciousness (see Chapter Four). Therefore, research is typically educational when it is communicative, productive and dialogical, but research can be oppressive when it suffers from narration sickness or monologue. Therefore, like education, the interplay between banking and problem-posing models can be seen in qualitative and participatory research across the world.

7.3Empirical findings

In general, 'meetings as education and oppression' is my major empirical finding. In particular, this finding needs to be discussed in two sections: first, the meetings and events that normally take place in different organisations, including Kudumbashree, NGOs and caste organisations; second, this finding is extended to discuss the extent to which caste continues to oppress and marginalise people.

7.3.1Meetings as education and oppression: beyond false binaries

These findings talk back to the ambiguity of Freire's ideas of education and oppression. I discovered the complex network in which oppression and education operates in meetings and how they are conducted. While Freire's emphasis is on the oppressive nature of formal education, from which he developed his ideas of banking education as knowledge depository, I explored the extent to which his ideas of education and oppression can be understood in non-formal education and community work. To do this, I unpacked the different connotations of 'education' and 'oppression' outside of schools.

When considering non-formal education and community work, education has to be understood in two different ways. First, education is the way in which people exchange ideas or experiences: this education can be partly banking and partly problem-posing, since education does not always reflect all features of banking or all features of problem-posing. The way people discuss issues or share views may differ from one meeting to another, as was evident from the discussions in NHG, ADS and CDS meetings (see Section 5.5).

Second, education has to be understood in terms of how education providers implement the curriculum and syllabus, not only in terms of the knowledge acquired by the students. Freire de-emphasizes this aspect of education, although he mentions banking or problem-posing approaches to analysing community development programmes. Curriculum and syllabus can be

problem-posing, but can be implemented in a banking way: this is evident from the controversies regarding people's experiences of problem-posing education in Kerala.

7.3.2 Caste invasion: caste continues to oppress and marginalise people

Caste invasion is a term that I developed to address the new functions of caste, drawing on Freire's cultural invasion. Freire discusses cultural invasion in connection with banking education: he argues that invasion is a form of economic and cultural domination. Drawing on these ideas, I explored how the upper caste maintains their culture and values within the Adivasi community. Conversely, the Adivasi community adopts the culture of the Brahmins, especially their saffron dress code. Historically, the cultural practices of the lower caste were mostly determined by caste norms. Caste is a social stratification that generates cultural practices that are imposed on to each caste according to their birth (see Section 2.1.2).It can be understood as a way of life of people in different social positions. A simple definition of culture as total ways of lives fails to address caste as invaded forms of culture. Caste and culture must be differentiated in connection with social stratification having banking natures. Therefore, I rather use caste invasion rather than culture to refer to the invasion of the lower caste's culture by the upper caste's culture including the Brahmins' (see p259-260).

Freire's concept of cultural invasion could potentially veil the discussions about how caste operates in the form of culture. Caste invasion is neither a simple invasion of the lower caste culture by the upper castes nor an internalisation of upper caste culture by the lower castes. I explored how caste itself is a banking education, and how caste and social stratifications have banking natures. In addition, I explored how caste operates as culture, forming its own banking education and myths in a way that addresses the false binaries between division and unification, caste and secularism.

7.3.2.a Division-unification

Freire (2000) argues that the oppressor wants to divide the oppressed majority to maintain their status quo. I explored ways in which the upper castes unify different castes into a homogenous Hindu community by organising meetings and development projects for them. The discourse of caste invades or takes over the icons of the Adivasi community. Consequently, it reinforces the dichotomy between Hinduism and the other minority religions. Similarly, the traditional Adivasi terms for residential areas, for example, Thudi, Mantom and Ooru, have been replaced with the word colony, a term that marginalises discussions on oppression in unique Adivasi residential areas (see Figures Nineteen; Twenty, p 266).However, this unification is not intended to abolish

caste, but rather to contribute to caste invasion in contemporary forms. Therefore, both division and unification together mythicize caste invasion at the local level (see Section 6.2.1).

7.3.2.b Caste-secular

Freire (2000) does not address the dual role of the oppressor. Religious organisations on the one hand organise development projects, run hospitals and organise free medical camps. On the other hand, Adivasi land is being seized by the Vivekananda Mission. The Bamboo craft industry is now used for Ekal Vidyalaya Mission which imposes Brahminical values: the inside of the building is invaded by icons of Hindu Goddesses and leaders. I explored these findings as a shift in the nature of caste invasion in the form of pseudo-secular interests. Historically, marginalised communities were outside of caste and formal education. They were not allowed to learn Sanskrit or the Vedas. However, today's caste system allows them to avail of these opportunities. However, event leaders claim that SHGs and events are not imposed, they are secular and do not discriminate against anyone. Furthermore, these leaders kept discussing caste oppression of the past but they failed to address the reappearance of oppression in contemporary forms, and they claimed that they wished to fulfil the dreams of the social reformers of the past when organising events. While maintaining these dual roles, being secular and being Hindu, the upper caste mythicizes these local forms of caste invasion and marginalisation. Therefore, these events contribute to caste invasion and myths in the form of secularism (see Section 6.2.1).

7.3.2.c Saffron as invasion and imitation: oppression and resistance to oppression

Freire (2000) discusses invasion, conquest and manipulation as the tactics of the oppressor. Additionally Freire (1994; 2000) argues that the oppressed develop an attitude of adhesion towards the way of life of the oppressor. However, Freire deemphasizes imitation as resistance to oppression. Besides, he does not highlight how people might develop both dual and critical consciousness in the complex networks of invasion, imitation and resistance. I explored how, on the one hand, saffron is a sign of invasion and imitation: it unifies the differences of the Adivasi community as a modern secular dress code, thus serving the ideology of caste invasion as discussed above. On the other hand, saffron prevents people from being marginalised: the Adivasi communities in traditional dress were treated differently in events. Moreover, people's preference of saffron shows that they are now allowed to dress like the upper caste, something they were not entitled to do historically. This is an example of how caste invasion operates paradoxically (see Section 6.2.2).

7.4 Generalising the findings outside Kerala, India

This section generalises my findings to the rest of the world. I revisit Freire's theoretical models and extend them to non-formal education platforms oustide Kerala (see Section 7.4.1). I discuss how my dialogical methdology can be useful for all qualitative education researchers, particularly those belonging to the oppressed communities outside Kerala (see Section 7.4.2). At an empirical level, my findings on caste and marginalisation can be generalised to discuss social stratification with banking natures (see Section 7.4.3).

7.4.1. Theoretical level: Revisiting Freire outside Kerala

The interplay between banking and problem-posing education can be applied in the field of education, research and community work. My findings, especially those on 'silence and dialogue' and 'imitation and invasion', are applicable globally to people who live at the bottom of the hierarchy. My findings offer answers to many criticisms against Freire. Freire has been widely criticised for his binary oppositions: I address the significance of Freire in discovering the way people make use of these false binaries to execute oppression in new forms. Although, Freire's ideas are universal, it is useful to explore the local contexts of oppression and marginalisation where the researcher keeps revisiting his/her ideas beyond false binaries. For example, the interactions between leaders and members in formal and informal meetings and the way people conduct these meetings can be generalised for non-formal education centres outside Kerala. One might see how Freire's theoretical models of banking and problem-posing education together shape a 'parents-teachers' meeting in any school, a formal staff meeting in any organisation, or an informal communication in a café anywhere in the world.

Freire has been widely studied by scholars outside of Europe for his emphasis on schooling. Scholars, for example Torres (1993), claim that his approach is curriculum-based, that his encounters remain formal despite his preference for the non-formal, and that he largely draws on an either/or way of looking at the world. These issues remain untouched by scholars who studied Freire in the context of Brazil, USA or Africa (see Section 2.2.1.b). They seem to simply borrow or apply his concepts to explore education in many contexts, sometimes in a problem-solving way without realising what Freire meant by problem-posing. Theoretically, my findings would be useful to deal with these limitations and go beyond curriculum-based learning in the field of non-formal education.

7.4.2 Methodological level: Dialogical methodology for qualitative educational research

I developed a dialogical methodology for researching oppression and marginalisation in the field of education derived by Freire's problem-posing models rather than participatory. My methodological findings are applicable to all forms of qualitative educational research and scholars who belong to oppressed/marginalised communities outside of Indian society. The parallel between research and education can be evident in all forms of research; similarly, scholars belonging to oppressed communities can apply my dialogical methodologyin all forms of qualitative educational research.

7.4.3. Empirical level: Social stratifcation with banking natures

There are similarities between the social structures of oppression in India and Brazil (see Section 1.1). In the same way, there are similarities between the findings of Freire and the Indian scholars in explaining the divisive tactics, manipulation, myths and monologue of the oppressor. Freire argues that the oppressor deposits myths to preserve their status quo. Similarly, the Hindu mythology describes the origin of different castes based on people's birth to maintain Brahminical domination (see Section 2.1.2.a). However, differences between Freire and the Indian scholars (Ambedkar, 1990; Omvedt, 1971) need to be discussed in order to understand the relation between banking education and caste and oppression beyond the economic class.

Although Freire talks about divide-and-rule as a tactic of the oppressor minority to divide the oppressed majority, he does not emphasize divisive tactics in connection with the stratified Brazilian society, for example, how banking education and myths are explicitly related to the origin of each division within the social stratification of oppression. Similarly, Freire's ideas are incomplete to understand division of labour and social stratification with banking natures: as evident from Ambedkar (2004), choices are imposed and filtered into a number of sub-castes both within the *upper* and *lower* castes within and outside of the caste system. The mythical origin of division of labour makes the caste system complex when compared to the stratified society in Brazil, based on which Freire developed his theory of oppression and the banking model (see Sections 2.1.2.a; 2.1.2.c).

In contrast to Freire, my engagement with scholars including Ambedkar triggered me to notice the relation between banking education and the complex stratification of the caste system in India. Although the caste system in India deposited mythical forms of knowledge through banking models of education, caste as a system of oppression prevented the marginalised castes from

accessing the formal education system in India, a privilege of the Brahmins. Therefore, the function of caste is twofold. First, the caste system itself is a type of banking education as it disseminates mythical knowledge through family, school and oral traditions to preserve Brahminical ideas. This is much more similar to Freire's banking education although he did not explore division of labour and stratification with banking natures. Second, caste was a means for sustaining the privilege of Brahmins in formal education and administration systems in India and marginalising people at the bottom of the hierarchy from formal education and professional jobs. The latter functions of the Indian caste system contrast with the way Freire explored oppression in Brazil in connection with banking education. However, my findings on social stratification and division of labour with banking natures are based on caste system and the myth that it propagates: these findings can be generalised outside the empirical context of India, for example, how social mobility of people is restricted through religious myths. Similarly, my findings on untouchability are primarily based on people's caste or tribal identity. These findings can be generalised outside India regarding different identities including race, ethnicity, nationality or class, for example, the way people withdraw themselves from others or exclude others in various social arenas of life.My findings would be beneficial to explore what prevents people from mobilising from the bottom of the hierarchy. Social mobility has to be understood in connection with the banking education of the people at the top of the hierarchy not only in terms of knowledge with banking natures and but also with division of labour and hierarchy with banking natures.

7.5Unfinished dialogues: the possibilities for future research

This section presents some potential questions for future research. The participants brought me many stories that did not form a part of this thesis: some were not relevant to the focus of my research; some could not be included due to word count; some were personal and somewhat abusive.

7.5.1 Language as means of marginalisation

At the end of the Adivasi Co-operative Society meeting, one member told me that his friends would laugh if he made any mistakes when delivering a speech, and that this made him silent in meetings (see Section 5.5). Although many participants made similar comments, such behaviour was not apparent in meetings, and participants did not elaborate on such personal stories in the evaluation meetings. Consequently, I avoided these stories connected to questions of language, silence and oppression. However, I found other forms of oppression among the participants. In informal dialogues with peers, I heard two participants gossip about another participant, using a nickname that people use to laugh at him. His nickname is related to his dress code, which is

similar to that of upper caste leaders. Two themes emerged from their dialogues: first, language contributes to oppression within the Adivasi communities; second, the Adivasi communities oppress their own community members in their implicit efforts to challenge caste invasion and imitation. However, I could not take these themes for further discussion in evaluation meetings due to anonymity and confidentiality considerations (see Section 4.6.1).

7.5.2 Untouchability within the untouchables

Some participants revealed that they had been treated as untouchables by members of the non-Adivasi community. One participant revealed that she was compelled to avoid a wedding ceremony of a colleague from the Paniya community. Other participants confirmed that Paniyas were not supposed to enter their houses and that historically they were not allowed to eat with them, but said that they do not practise this now. However, I noticed a Paniya woman having her meal outside on the veranda in a participant's home during a social event (17.10.13), and I saw members of the Paniya community stepping backwards from other Adivasi members (see Section 6.3). When discussing these observations, some participants said that the Paniyas chose themselves to be untouchables. Although I explored how meetings contributed to untouchability, I was unable to explore this within the cross-section of the Adivasi population. Although participants discussed these issues, they did not share personal and sensitive stories in the final evaluation meetings. I found that discussing the practice of untouchability with people who are untouchables would reinforce their silence and oppression, so my methodology needs revision to find alternative ways to approach the topic.

7.5.3 Adivasi traditions as in transition from tribe to caste?

The participants, including Karimpan, Remya and Binumol, discussed the exogamous social structure within the Kuruma communities: each group is known as a clan rather than a caste based on their settlements over different territories. Caste refers to an endogamous social structure that restricts inter-caste marriages. Another significant difference between caste and tribe is that the practice of dowry is related to the caste system, a social evil that limits women's empowerment. However, this practice is not prevalent among the tribal community as they use a bride price instead. In the evaluation meetings, this formed a part of our discussion. Karimpan said that Adivasi men have started demanding a dowry. I did not explore this issue further as it was not explicitly linked to my focus of investigation. I did explore the change in the Adivasi's forms of worshipping and dress code while addressing the false binary between unification and division. However, these issues could be further investigated to address the transformation of tribe into caste in relation to banking education and invasion beyond false binaries.

7.6 Concluding, but this research-education journey continues

This chapter is not an ultimate conclusion to what I experienced and what I learned with the participants so far in dialogue with Freire (1978; 1994; 1998a; 1998b; 2000; 2005). My methodology and the knowledge I co-constructed with the participants are provisional and continue to develop. Having been influenced by Freire, I kept revisiting my dialogical methodology because some of my methods worked, but some did not. In the same way, my enquiry's focus changed during the course of my fieldwork in accordance with the participants' informal recommendations. Regarding stories from our discussions that were excluded from this thesis, participants' narratives made me aware of my unfinishedness (Freire, 1998; 2000).

Considering the analogy between education and research, my research is also unfinished, on-going and provisional. This on-going process of dialogues enabled the participants and me to learn novel insights into our lives by negotiating each other's views; in addition, they led me to review my understanding of Freire's ideas of education, oppression and marginalisation. I hope that these dialogues will continue, and that they reach non-participants in this research so that they too might be involved in this on-going learning. I shared my learning from both the theoretical and empirical literature with the participants. I then reflected on our shared experiences in order to challenge, revisit, extend and co-construct knowledge. This co-construction of knowledge will continue to inspire the participants and me to recognise and challenge oppression and marginalisation.

My dialogue with the literature continued even after the fieldwork. Unfortunately, I could not share certain findings of scholars, for example, Teltumde (2012), Ahmed (2014) and Chishti (2014) with the participants, since many issues did not arise during the course of my fieldwork or emerge from our final evaluation meetings. I integrated Freire's idea of cultural invasion with many scholarly ideas (Teltumde, 2012 and Ahmed, 2014) on identity to explore marginalisation beyond the binary between annihilation/ division and unification tactics of the caste oppressor. My reading after my dialogue with the participants helped me to further refine the knowledge that we co-constructed in the final evaluation meetings; similarly, the participants might revisit our co-constructed knowledge in their on-going formal and informal meetings.

As I write this conclusion, the Adivasi community across Kerala society are currently engaged in an on-going struggle against their alienated lands (Sabu, 2014); similarly, the RSS started a new programme (Express News Service, 2015; Guru; 2015)-GharWapsi (back home) – promising the

Christians and Muslims to re-convert back to the Hindu community (see p261). So, the participants may now have many new stories to share or discuss. Therefore, like any other research, my knowledge production in this research after the fieldwork becomes unavoidably banking and will remain so until I share this knowledge with the participants and reflect on their related stories of oppression or marginalisation in my future research endeavours in Southern Wayanad or elsewhere in Kerala. In this sense, both banking and problem-posing models go hand in hand and inform the continuous journey of my research and thus my education.

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Glossary
List of key non-English words

Adivasi: The tribes in Kerala are generally known as the Adivasi community.

Asary /Achary: A collochial name to refer to the fivefold Viswakarma community in Kerala.

Asura: A term used in Hindu mythology to refer to the *cruel* Kings in India. It also differentiates from Deva, which means people who are honest, kind. Furthermore, most of the Hindu Gods and Goddesses are referred to as 'Deva', which means God. Modern literature shows us that the Aryan colonizers have made use of such terminologies to call themselves Deva and the native Kings and their subjects as Asura as a way of justifying their brutal actions. Thus, both terms form a dichotomy as the upper caste/lower caste or the savarna/avarna people in India.

Avarna: A *lower* caste

Chetti: A marginalised caste in Kerala and Tamil Nadu who are traditionally traders.

Dalit: A common term that refers to the socially economically and educationally marginalised community in Kerala. It is widely used to refer to the Scheduled Castes in India.

Ezhava: A marginalised caste who are traditionally toddy tappers.

Gotravargam: A general term for the tribal community in Kerala.

GramaPanchayat: Local self-government in India.

Gramasabha: A local assembly, a meeting of all voters in a ward in the local self -government in India.

Kattunaikkan: An Adivasi community in Kerala

Kollan: A blacksmith in Kerala.

Kudumbashree: Prosperous families.

Kurumar: An Adivasi community in Kerala

Malai-Arayans: An Adivasi community in Kerala

Nair: A dominant caste in Kerala within the Sudra community in Kerala.

Panchayaitraj: Three tiered local governance.

Paniya: An Adivasi community in Kerala, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu in India.

Paraya: A marginalised caste who are known as Dalits in Kerala.

Paraya: A marginalised caste who are known as Dalits in Kerala.

Pathiyar: Amarginalised caste who are known as Dalits in Kerala.

Pulaya: A marginalised caste who are known as Dalits in Kerala.

Samajam: Community.

Savarna: An upper caste

Thattan: A goldsmith in Kerala.

Viswakarma: A marginalised community who are traditionally working class, namely carpenters, stone masons, potters, blacksmiths and goldsmiths.

APPENDIX ONE

METHODOLOGICAL STATEMENT

This methodological statement presents the different stages of my fieldwork. In Phase One, I developed my own dialogical methodology for researching with the Adivasi community in Southern Wayanad, applying Freire's idea of problem-posing education to research

In Phase Two, I started my fieldwork in Edakkal Panchayat: informal visits in and around Southern Wayanad; meetings with leaders and members of Edakkal Panchayat and Kudumbashree; and initial meetings with potential participants. I conducted three meetings in negotiation with the leaders: to present my project, find participants, and refine my original sampling and focus based on their informal proposals (Week One).

In Phase Three, I started conducting observation and participant observation of meetings and events, conducting brief evaluation meetings at the end of each formal meeting and one-to-one dialogues with the participants. It was difficult to conduct data collection and analysis in a sequence as originally planned: observation and interviews had to be conducted simultaneously because meetings and events occurred sporadically. Similarly, I conducted informal interviews with both formal and informal participants during participant observation of public events. I recorded critical incidents and took photos that became data for analysis and a reflective journal (see Table Thirty-three). Meanwhile, I listened to taped meetings and interviews for transcription (Week One to Week Five); performed cross-validity checks; and identified relevant themes for respondent validation.

In Phase Four, I continued listening to the taped meetings and interviews, and prepared a rough transcript of my interviews and meetings. In phase Five, I conducted follow-up interviews, transcribed audiotapes with the participants. In the meantime, I conducted observation of meetings and events that the participants suggested (Week Five to Week Seven).In Phase Six, the final week of my fieldwork, I conducted three evaluation meetings to analyse the participants themesthrough respondent validation or photo-elicitation. The participants and I discussed common themes while responding to photographs and my field notes in a PowerPoint presentation. Between these evaluation meetings, I continued listening to the audiotapes and transcribing interview narratives (Week Seven to Week Eight).

Phase One: Fieldwork preparations

I developed my dialogical methodology and fieldwork schedule using a mixed method approach derived from Freire's problem-posing model. I expected to share common experiences or critical incidents with the participants in connection with the questions emerged from literature. I intended to use observation, interviews and storytelling. In observation of events, I expected the following. First, that the participants would volunteer to organise what and how meetings and events would be observed, and then provide me with comments for me to analyse my own fieldwork and the consequences of my behaviours upon the participants. Second, that during one-to-one dialogues the participants and I would share common experiences in connection with questions emerged from literature and initial observation. In evaluation meetings, I expected the participants to identify common themes with me. The following five-stage schedule was planned to conduct my fieldwork in Southern Wayanad.

Table Thirty-five

Provisional time-schedule of fieldwork

Stage One: Initial meeting (Week One)
Discussion of research aims and objectives, mutual benefits, ethical issues and fieldwork plan, including the potential outcomes
Discussion of themes and narratives from the literature
Stage Two: Dialogical observation (Week Two)
Observation in neighbourhood group
Evaluation meeting for analysis and follow-up actions
Observation in Adivasi community organisation
Evaluation meeting for analysis and follow-up actions
Stage Three: Dialogical interviews (Week Three to Week Six)
One-to-one dialogues
Follow-up dialogue for transcription and analysis
Stage Four: Dialogical observation (Week Seven)
Follow-up observation in neighbourhood group
Evaluation meeting for analysis and follow-up actions
Follow-up observation in Adivasi community organisation
Evaluation meeting for analysis and follow-up actions
Stage Five: Dialogical evaluation (Week Eight)
Final evaluation meeting with the participants, analysing the previously-shared knowledge and experiences from the literature as well as the fieldwork
Coding and decoding

As discussed in Chapter Four, it was difficult to follow these stages because the focus of my empirical enquiry changed as the fieldwork progressed. In the initial meetings, I discovered that meetings and community work are imposed on the target groups, and that the participants marginalised my meetings in the same way that they marginalised their own meetings and events. In order to minimise the unavoidable elements of oppression, I kept the number of meetings to a minimum (see Section 4.1).

Phase Two: Informal visits, initial meetings and introduction of my project

I reached Kerala on the 14th of September 2013, but since the Edakkal Panchayat office was closed for ONAM holidays, I could not start my fieldwork until the 19th. I reached Edakkal on the 18th. This day (18.09.13) was important for me, because, as discussed in page 168, I had an opportunity to form dialogue with a women and a passenger on the street: that helped me to identify some potential communication barriers with the Paniya community.

On the 19th, I met Renjini, the CDS chairperson, in her office. She took me to the office of the Edakkal Panchayat president – a previously un-planned meeting. I had a short meeting with the president, the Welfare Standing Committee chairman, and the CDS chairperson. I briefly introduced my research, primary aims and fieldwork schedule. As elaborated in Section 4.1.1, we discussed potential participants. The decision from this meeting was that I should find a cross-section of Adivasi population as participants. I conducted initial meetings with potential participants to refine my original sampling and methods to find participants.

I intended to work with the members of one Kudumbashree Neighbourhood group and one Adivasi community organisation, and to research the meetings of both groups as the focus of my empirical investigation. The CDS chairperson had already arranged two meetings: one for the NHG members and another one for the Adivasi community organisation. In these meetings, I briefly introduced my project, including my aims and sub-aims, theoretical and methodological framework, and the nature of fieldwork participation. During initial meetings, interviews and evaluation meetings, I presented the participants with images drawn from the literature to explain the contents of my upgrade material. The sketch of Vamana and Mahabali was not used in the initial meetings: it was recommended and handed over to me by the participants a few days later.

Table Thirty-six

Posing photos and sketches in meetings

Number	Title
Figure Two	Untouchability
Figure Three	Dashavathara of Lord Vishnu
Figure Four	The practice of Sati in ancient India
Figure Five	Lord Viswakarma and his sons
Figure Six	The statue of Ayyankali riding a bullock cart
Figure Seven	Physical posture of tenants in communication
Figure Sixteen	Mahabali and Vamana

Table Thirty-six lists the visual representations relating to oppression and marginalisation that I used to introduce themes emerged from empirical literature on caste during initial meetings, interviews and evaluation meetings. This was part of my 'research-education parallels' to present my thesis as a problem-posing teacher/researcher (see Sections 4.1.1 and 5.1). Some of these sketches or images helped the participants to elicit their past or current experiences of oppression: the sketch of Mahabali and Vamana enabled Karimpan to extend his initial local stories of invasion and conquest (see Section 6.1). While posing these themes, I presented my original research questions to the participants. In order to perform these tasks comprehensively, I Initially planned three further meetings with my formal participants to introduce the nature of my fieldwork. This was problematic due to participants' on-going experiences of attending meetings with banking natures. So, I cancelled these meetings and met each participant individually at home instead. I refined the original focus of observation based on participants' proposals during informal interviews (see Section 4.3.2).

Phase Three: Refining the original sampling and focus of investigation: Finding participants and meetings/events

One of the main objectives for empirical enquiry was to explore people's experiences of oppression, marginalisation and education within these organisations. However, this focus underwent significant modifications, enabling me to conduct my fieldwork in dialogue with the participants. I intended to observe meetings of one NHG and one community organisation, but extended my observations into many public events and meetings of ADS and CDS, the other tiers

of Kudumbashree (see Tables Seven to Nine; Section 3.5.1.a). NHG meeting discussions were insufficient to explore my intended research questions, and there was no meeting scheduled for the Adivasi community organisation, so the participants informally suggested my attendance at other events that happened while the fieldwork was progressing. Altogether, I observed the eighteen meetings and events listed in Table Twenty-nine (see p 152) as a participant or a non-participant.

Table Thirty-seven
Observation/participant observation of meetings and events

No	Date	Meeting/event	Organisation	Form of observation
1	18.09.13	Street incident	Informal meeting	Participant observation
2	22.09.13	Weekly meeting X 1	CHETHANA	Observation
3	27.09.13	Thozhilurappu work site	Kudumbashree	Observation
4	29.09.13	Medical camp	Vivekananda Mission	Participant observation
5	29.09.13	Weekly meeting	Kudumbashree NHG	Observation
6	01.10.13	Monthly meeting	Kudumbashree ADS	Observation
7	02.10.13	Monthly meeting	Kudumbashree CDS	Observation
8	05.10.13	Annual Meeting	Adivasi Co-operative Society	Observation
9	06.10.13	Weekly meeting	Kudumbashree NHG	Follow-up Observation
10	06.10.13	Tribal cultural Festival	Anthropological Survey of India	Participant observation
11	09.10.13	A meeting on the pond shore	Informal meeting	Observation
12	16.10.13	Social solidarity day	Kerala state SC/ST department	Participant observation
13	16.10.13	Awareness class	Kerala state SC/ST department	Participant observation
14	16.10.13	Meeting in the shed	Informal meeting	Participant observation
15	25.10.13	Inaugural ceremony of watershed project	NIRMMITHI	Participant observation
16	27.10.13	Annual Uchal Festival	Kuruma community	Participant observation
17	31.10.13	Indira memorial day X_2	Congress party	Participant observation
18	01.11.13	Felicitation ceremony X_3	Edakkal Panchayat	Participant Observation
	X Discussions in these meetings did not form a part of this thesis			

In practice, all three tiers of the Kudumbashree (NHG/ADS/CDS) become my focus of observation. No Adivasi community organisation was accepted, because only members of the Kuruma community became my formal participants. Based on participants' informal proposals, I accepted the Adivasi Co-operative Society as another focus for observation, along with other events organised by Kudumbashree or similar organisations in Edakkal Panchayat. These negotiations led me to shift my primary focus of empirical investigation into participants' formal and informal events. In the meantime, I accepted nine formal participants; additionally, fourteen people became occasional, informal participants. The following table lists the nine formal participants. More information on each follows.

Table Thirty-eight
Profile of formal participants

NO	Name	Gender	Age	Educationin grade	Job Title
1	Binumol	Female	26	12^{th}	Field staff
2	Deepthi	Female	30	12^{th}	Dairy farmer
3	Kannan	Male	56	7^{th}	Farmer
4	Karimpan	Male	80	4^{th}	Retired
5	Rajan	Male	60	6^{th}	Retired
6	Remya	Female	27	10^{th}	Field staff
7	Renjini	Female	30	10^{th}	CDS chairperson
8	Shobha	Female	40	9^{th}	Housewife
9	Sumesh	Male	24	12^{th} +diploma	Job seeker

Binumol: Binumol is 26 years old. She has completed her higher secondary schooling.She works as a field staff with a local NGO in Southern Wayanad. She joined this fieldwork four days after the initial meetings.

Deepthi: Deepthi is 30 years old. She has completed her higher secondary schooling. She is a self-employed dairy farmer. She joined this fieldwork on the first day.

Kannan: Kannan is 56 years old. He has completed his upper primary schooling.He is a self-employed farmer. He joined this fieldwork a week after the beginning of fieldwork.

Karimpan: Karimpan is 80 years old. He has completed his primary schooling.He is the leader of the Adivasi community, popularly known as Mooppan in Edakkal Panchayat. He is leading a retired life. He joined this fieldwork on the first day.

Rajan: Rajan is 60 years old. He has completed his upper primary schooling.He is leading a retired life; he is the president of the PADASHEKHARA SAMITHY. He joined this fieldwork on the second day.

Remya: Remya is 31 years old. She has completed her secondary schooling.She works as a field staff with a local NGO in Southern Wayanad. She joined this fieldwork a week after I reached Edakkal.

Renjini: Renjini is 30 years old. She has completed her higher secondary schooling.She is the CDS chairperson. She joined this fieldwork a week after I reached Edakkal.

Shobha: Shobha is 40 years old. She has completed her secondary schooling.She is an unemployed housewife. She is a member of the NHG and executive member of the ADS. She joined this fieldwork on the first day.

Sumesh: Sumesh is 26 years old. He has completed his secondary schooling.He is an unemployed youth. He joined this fieldwork on the third day.

These nine participants become my final participants one week after the initial meetings after many negotiations. While these processes were on-going, I started attending public events that the participants (Karimpan, Sumesh) proposed. The following table lists the fourteen informal participants who played crucial roles in this fieldwork. More information on each follows.

Table Thirty-nine

Informal participants

No	Name	Job title	Gender
1	Abhilash	A member of Kattunaikka community	Male
2	Geetha	NHG member	Female
3	Gopalan	Co-ordinator	Male
4	Jayasree	A member of the Urali community	Female
5	Kuttappan	A member of Paniya community	Male
6	Lalitha	A member of Paniya community	Female
7	Madhavan	A member of the Adivasi community	Male
8	Madhu	Painter	Male
9	Rajamma	ADS president	Female
10	Rupesh	Construction worker	Male
11	Sumathi	NHG member	Female
12	Sunitha	NHG member	Female
13	Unknown	A pedestrian on the street	Female
14	Unknown	A Passenger on the street	Male

Abhilash: Abbilash is a member of the Kattunaikka community, I had informal conversation with him during the Water Shed Project inauguration day (25.10.13; see p276).

Jayasree: Jayasree is a member of the Urali community, I had informal conversation with her during Tribal Cultural Festival (06.10.13, see p276).

Kuttappan and Lalitha. They are Paniya couple, I had informal conversation with them during the Medical camp (29.09.13, see p274).

Gopalan: Gopalan is the co-ordinator of the medical camp (29.09.13). His narrative was included in the thesis in connection with caste invasion and marginalisation (see p260).

Madhavan: Madhavan is the member of the Adivasi Co-operative Society, I had informal conversation with him during the annual meeting (05.10.13,see p 246).

Rajamma: Rajamma is the president of the ADS. I had informal dialogues with her at the Thozhilurappuwork site (27.09.13, see pp 213; 230).

Rupesh and Madhu: Rupesh is a construction worker and Madhu is a painter. I had informal dialogues with both of them in a shed where people gather for reading newspaper (17.10.13, see pp 238).

Sumathi and Sunitha: I spoke to these women informally at the Thozhilurappu work site (27.09.13, see pp230).

Unknown pedestrian and passenger on the street: The woman pedestrian and the passenger on the street on my arrival at Sulthan Battery town were the first informal participants (16.09.2013; see p158).

These informal participants were crucial for discovering critical incidents, a tool that refined my original set of research questions and my intended methods of data collection and analysis.

Phase Four: Refining the research questions after observation or participant observation of meetings and events

During my observation and participant observation of formal and informal meetings and events, I recorded relevant critical incidents in my field diary. Some of them were also audio recorded and some of them were photographed (see Section 4.1). This section presents how these processes refined my research questions or generated new ones and framed an initial analysis for further discussion with the participants.

- **Non-participant observation of meetings and events**

  My observation of Kudumbashree meetings and events facilitated me to refine many questions that emerged from my critical incidents (see Table Thirty-three, p 163; Section 4.1). The audio records of ADS and NHG meetings show that both the president and the secretary did not talk at all. In addition, the members seemed to be shy when the meeting started formally, but they seemed to communicate informally before and the after meetings. The NHG meetings did not have much formal discussion apart from the presentation of previous minutes and agenda. The agenda of both meetings and the minutes of discussion were more or less simple repetitions of the previous, reflecting Freire's banking model (see Tables Seven and Fourteen in Section 3.5.1.b). Drawing on these observations, I framed the following questions (Sub-aim Three) for the participants to reflect on during interviews and evaluation meetings for respondent validation:

- What makes the leaders and members remain silent in formal meetings?
- Do formal meetings marginalise people or do people marginalise the formal?
- To what extent are NHG meetings imposed on the target groups?

  In the annual meeting of the Adivasi Co-operative Society, I similarly observed that the members seemed to be reluctant to talk and did not refine the agenda despite the president's frequent prompts. I later observed that women members tried to step down into the trench using their work equipment: there was no step ladder or safety boots (see Table fourteen, p133; Section 5.4). These observations triggered the following questions (Sub-aim Three) for respondent validation:

- Why do people marginalise their own opportunities?
- Why do members marginalise meetings?

  I also conducted participant observation of public events while reflecting on participants' informal proposals. I decided to incorporate many incidents as they reached points of similarities and differences with my initial interview data. Additionally, I made use of participant observation to other established methods of data collection and analysis: due to the 'unfinished' nature of each method enabling me to follow a mixed approach derived from Freire's problem-posing model.

- **Participant observation of events**

  My initial observation of the Bamboo Craft building inspired me to write a single chapter on caste invasion and marginalisation. I noticed a flex board showing the icon of Lord Vivekananda (Hindu Saint) in saffron dress outside the building. The front part of the building shows that the building was funded by the State Government for generating employment for the Adivasi community. In addition, I saw many icons of Goddesses and RSS leaders inside the building. My observation of

informal meetings in Edakkal was also important: I saw the Adivasi people in saffron dress, similar to Lord Vivekananda. I took photos of these buildings and people with their permission. Having observed these incidents and looked at the photos of the premises and people, I framed the following questions for discussion and respondent validation:

- Why are there icons of Gods and caste symbols?
- Why does the dress code of the Upper caste become a dress code of the Adivasi community?

With these questions, I managed to explored caste invasion and marginalisation at a local level; and how imitation takes place in the form of 'unification': these findings helped me to extend Freire's idea of cultural invasion into caste invasion in new forms (see Tables Eighteen to Twenty).

In the **medical camp,** I noticed a couple from the Paniya community stepping backwards from their Adivasi peers. Similarly, I noticed a Paniya woman being served outside the house during the Kuruma festival, Uchal. Similarly, I observed a separation of seats between the Adivasi community and the general community in many public events (for example, tribal cultural festival, Social solidarity day, Watershed project inauguration). Additionally, I noticed that food being served, or not being served, or being served partially for the Adivasi community in these events (See Table thirty, p152; Figures twenty-three to twenty-six, p 273; Section 6.3). These observations led me to think of the following questions (Sub-aim Three):

- Why are there gaps between the Adivasi and non-Adivasi population?
- Do both people choose themselves to keep a distance from one another?
- Why are some people given certain foods but not others?
- Why are some people served last or not served at all?

I decided to take photographs as a record, and for the participants to reflect on in interviews and evaluation meetings. Critical incidents and photographs may be considered as separate methods of data collection from observation or participant observation. However, while recording critical incidents or taking photographs during the field work I was either involved in the process of observation or participant observation, so it is difficult to separate both critical incidents and photographs from observation or participant observation. Critical incident could be something that I observed or experienced in meetings, events and my informal dialogues with people across Southern Wayanad. So, I identified relevant critical incidents that triggered new research questions or led me to self-observe being a subject and object (see Section 4.1).

- **One-to-one dialogues**

The participants and I shared our experiences and discussed each question emerged from participants formal meetings and my fieldwork meetings (see Section 3.4).Additionally, I introduced relevant themes from Freire or the empirical literature in response to participants' narratives or my intended questions. The participants were also shown sketches from literature or photographs of relevant critical incidents during observation or participant observation of meetings and events. These sketches or photographshelped the participants to elicit (Collier, 1967; 1979) their memories and thoughts (see Table Fifteen, p134). It took three weeks to complete the one-to-one dialogues. After a gap of one week, I conducted follow-up interviews for revisiting my initial transcription data through respondent validation (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007) and voce-centred relational method(Brown *et al*, 1991; Byrne *et al,* 2009)

Phase Five: Transcription of data

As explained in Section 3.4, the next step was to start writing a brief transcription of the data collected. All formal meetings of participants, fieldwork meetings and interviews were audio recorded. Important observations and parts of conversation were added to the field note. Some observational data were photographed. Similarly, critical incidents emerging from meetings and events were manually recorded in field diary. At first, I saved the audiotapes of meetings and one-to-one dialogues meetings into folders called, 'dialogical observation', 'dialogical interviews', 'initial meetings' and 'evaluation meetings'. I then transcribed each meeting while listening to the tapes. I started transcribing each conversation in the same order as in the audiotapes.

In the meantime, the participants and I listened to the audiotapes togetherutilising the voice-centred relational method (Brown *et al.,* 1991;Byrne *et al.*, 2009). However, most participants did not wish to complete due to time considerations and wanted me to complete such tasks making this processes unavoidably monological especially after the fieldwork. I prepared an initial draft of interviews and meeting for respondent validation (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007) and thus form dialogue with the participants.I spent more time on this when I had a one week break after the initial stage of my data collection (see Section 3.4).

Transcription of evaluation meetings was carried out only after the fieldwork due to time-limitations. Transcription of initial meetings and evaluation of NHG meetings was complete during the fieldwork. Altogether, I had seven meetings with the participants. This included initial meetings, evaluation meetings for analysing the observational data and critical incidents, and final evaluation meetings for analysing the findings.

Phase Six: Identifying themes for respondent validation and photo-elicitation: a way of forming dialogue and praxis with the participants

Data analysis was conducted sporadically in three different phases using the method of 'thematic analysis' drawing on Freire's philosophy of praxis and dialogue. On the other hand, Ryan and Bernard's (2004) comparative method was a useful tool to identify themes and analyse findings through 'respondent validation' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Mixed method approach has been used to conduct cross-validity checks and comparison between findings, enabling me to identify similarities and differences and thus themes from the larger set of empirical data.

In the first phase, I cross-checked the findings that commonly emerged from observation and participant observation of formal meetings and events. As part of this, I conducted a follow-up observation of the NHG meetings; I additionally observed ADS and CDS meetings due to insufficient data emerging from NHG meetings. In the meantime, I subsequently observed various formal and informal events in Southern wayanad being a participant or non-participant. In the second phase, I mixed findings derived from mixed methods in a conversation in order to conduct further cross-check and identify relevant themes working with Ryan and Bernard's (2004) comparative method. My initial analysis and the themes identified were presented to the members for respondent validation at the end of each formal meeting (see Tables Seven to Nine).

In the third phase, again, I presented these participants' themes along with *a priori* themes drawn from theories and empirical literature for respondent validation (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). The participants and I reached points of agreement and disagreement with themes. Based on participants' responses, initial themes were revised, extended or additional themes emerged in an on-going process of dialogue with the participants. Participants' themes that predominantly emerged from photographs were also presented to the participants for photo-elicitation (Collier, 1967; 1979)during interviews and evaluation meetings as shown in Table Forty.

Table Forty

Posing photographs during interviews and evaluation meetings

Figure	**Photographs of meetings and events**	**Questions**
Eight	ADS meeting	How/why are meetings imposed? Why do people not come to meetings?
Nine	Thozhilurappu project site	Why do people not have safety equipment?
Ten	Meetings notice of the Tribal Co-operative Society	Why did people not refine, bring their agenda despite being reminded in the notice?
Eleven	Annual meeting of the Tribal Co-operative Society	Why did people withdraw from discussions despite having opportunities?
Twelve	Informal NHG meeting	Why do people talk on informal occasions? Why are informal discussions not included in meeting minutes?
Thirteen	Formal NHG meeting	What stops us from initiating a conversation? Do formal meetings marginalise people/do people marginalise the formal?
Fourteen	Informal meeting (shed)	Why do people tend to talk more in informal meetings?
Fifteen	SC/ST awareness class	Why are ST promoters compelled to attend the class?
Seventeen	Bamboo craft Muthanga (Outside)	Why does Vivekananda Mission run meetings for the Adivasi community? Why is the Adivasi event listed at the bottom of the flex?
Eighteen	Bamboo craft Muthanga (Inside)	Why is there an abundance of caste icons in the bamboo craft building? Why do people take their shoes off while entering the building?
Nineteen & Twenty	Name Boardsof Edakkal Panchayat building and pond	Why is there no name of the Adivasi residences such as Ooru, Thudi or Mantom in these boards?
Twenty-one & Twenty-two	Informal meeting and and wedding event	Why do people increasingly wear saffron? How do you differentiate between both photos?
Twenty-three to Twenty-six	Events conducted by the NGO and Edakkal panchayat	How do you respond to the photographs and leaders' talk about marginalisation? Why there are gaps between the Adivasi and non-Adivasi population? Do both people choose themselves to keep a distance from one another? Why are some people given certain foods but not others? Why are some people served last or not served at all?

In a PowerPoint presentation, I presented relevant photographs reflecting common themes to the participants (two sessions in three days). During these discussions, I referred back to relevant *a priori* themes of Freire and Foucault. Some participants criticised Freire's ideas of problem-posing education for practical reasons; similarly, Rajan and Sumesh reframed Foucault's ideas of power (See Section 5.1).All these figures/photographs showing the meetings and events are presented in Chapters Five and Six. Each figure is followed by my transcription of field observation. At the end, I combined different data derived from different methods and then presented this to the participants: the participants come up with both similar and different views in interviews and evaluation meetings when discussing the questions (see Tables Eleven and Fifteen). After the fieldwork, I further revisited the identified themes to make further connections with a priori themes: that was again unavoidably mono-logical and less banking. Many themes emerged out of this analysis. Similar themes were mixed together to form subsections and then chapters (see Tables in Section 3.5.5).

Phase Seven: Presentation of findings: dialogue between participants' themes and *a priori* themes including Freire's

As discussed before, I had separate transcriptions for my observational data, critical incidents, and one-to-one dialogues and evaluation meetings. In the discussion chapters (Five to Seven), conclusions are drawn from different sources of transcriptions including audiotapes, field notes and photographs. The style of presentation remained the same as my literature review chapter, but the way dialogue happened between Freire (2000; 2005) and our shared stories is different in both chapters.

In the literature review chapter, I introduced Freire's themes reflecting features of both banking and problem-posing models that formed the central theoretical framework of this study. I then reflected on my previous stories or critical incidents followed by related literature on oppression and marginalisation in Kerala. I compared my experiences with themes emerged from my dialogue with Freire and related scholars to identify some gaps that generated general research questions for my fieldwork. In other words, my stories were in dialogue with Freire and related scholars for understanding the weakness of the literature on oppression, marginalisation and education in Kerala (see Chapters Two and Three).

In the discussion chapters, dialogue happened in the other way around. First, I presented the empirical data drawn from mixed methods including photographs of events and meetings followed by my transcription underneath. Second, I briefly presented some relevant discussions of

formal meetings or events. Third, I presented participants' combined narratives from initial meetings, one-to-one dialogues and evaluation meetings to present points of agreement and disagreement (see Tables Ten to Twenty-five). I then drew conclusions to combine these transcriptions to discuss the way they talk back to Freire and answer my research questions. At the end of each section, I made a clear distinction between what Freire discovered, what Freire did not discover and what I discovered from the empirical data. In the conclusion chapter, I presented my own theories, methods and empirical findings; and how they can be generalised outside Kerala society.

APPENDIX TWO

Banking education, language, and marginalising dialogues in research

Freire (1978; 2000) argues that critical educators must reflect on the language of the people before planning any educational programmes with them. As discussed in 2.1.2.c, language plays an important role in forming dialogue with the participants. Equally, language can be a means of oppression and thereby can be an exercise of power for the oppressor. For these reasons, I anticipated similar problems in my fieldwork in Edakkal. This section discusses these issues regarding the relationship between banking education and marginalisation, and language and power in order to address the following (Sub Aims One and Two):

- How language and power may contribute to marginalisation in my dialogue with the literature.
- How language and discourse may contribute to marginalisation in my dialogue with the participants.

2.1 Language and power and marginalisation in dialogue with the literature

According to Freire (2000), the oppressor uses banking education to propagate his/her own knowledge through propaganda, slogans, myths and prescriptions. In other words, banking education exists differently in the form of certain vocabularies and terminologies and their multiple connotations. For Freire, power flows from the oppressor to the oppressed through the medium of banking education. However, Foucault (1991:27) has challenged this notion of understanding power in *Discipline and Punish*: 'we should admit rather that power produces knowledge (and not simply by encouraging, it serves power or by applying it because, it is useful); that power and knowledge directly imply one another.' Power produces or regulates knowledge and vice-versa; in other words, power is knowledge and knowledge is power. Power regulates the way people act in a particular social context, for example, the language they use, arguments they make, and their own justifications for their actions. Examples include the mythical origin of caste, the formation of Indian civilisation or the principle of Karma (see Section 2.1.1.a). In contrast to Freire, Foucault claims that power is everywhere and flows in multiple directions: neither the oppressor nor the oppressed own power, on the contrary, they can only execute power. Neither of them oppresses; it is the conversation between them that oppresses, making each of them execute or resist power. As evident from Freire, the critical dimension of knowledge is lost before it reaches the students in banking education. Linking Freire's notion of banking education with Foucault's notion of power educates me that the knowledge that students receive in banking

education is regulated by power and vice–versa. Similarly, the dialogues between a researcher and the participants may oppress or marginalise each party.

For example, Freire and Macedo (1995) argue that language as jargon may make certain forms of oppression invisible. Invisible forms of oppression are an outcome of the disciplinary execution of power; disciplinary power is hard to resist, as is evident from Foucault, discussed later. For Freire, the dominant language acts as a means of banking education that veils reality, especially, at an implicit level. Macedo argues that Freire had initially written *Pedagogy of the Disenfranchised* instead of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. The first title fails to address oppression in relation to the oppressor/oppressed dichotomy. For Macedo, Freire (2000:21) chose the second title because 'if you have an oppressed you automatically have an oppressor.' The word 'disenfranchised' is discourse used by the academics, which makes its meaning unclear. Similarly, researchers use complex vocabularies or jargon without adequately reflecting on the lived experiences of marginalisation in Kerala. This is why I needed a distinct approach to writing as a form of dialogue. I determined to avoid such jargon when talking or writing about Freire or my experiences.

Both Freire and Foucault inspire me to reflect on certain official discourses in Kerala which classify the marginalised: terms such as 'backward', 'ex-untouchables', 'Dalits.' The cause of 'backwardness' could be a result of long-term exploitation of caste, colonialism or slavery in Kerala. However, it would not expose the hidden history of marginalisation in Kerala. The word ex-untouchables has a misleading meaning in the sense that untouchability is something that existed in the past when in fact it may hide the empirical reality of how people face untouchability even today on an implicit level (see Chapters One and Six); it brands the marginalised community as a dishonoured category in Kerala.

As a result, I shared these theoretical and empirical findings to know the preferences of the participants in order to avoid further reinforcing the existing official discourses in Kerala: Adivasi, Gotra vargam, ex-untouchables, Dalits and Scheduled Tribes (ST). They challenged these arguments. 'I am proud to be born as a Tribe; I do not mind to be called as an ST' (Rajan, one-to-one dialogue, 29.09.13). 'Adivasi means the original inhabitants of this country; there is nothing racial' (Shobha, one-to-one dialogue, 30.09.13). 'But, we do not get any benefits unless we are branded as one of these categories' (Karimpan, one-to-one dialogue, 04.10.13). Although these terminologies are marginal and oppressive they maintain their unique marginalised identities that allow them to avail of Government benefits. Steur (2009) has explored how these official

terminologies marginalise people within the Adivasi community. However, some general official terminologies (for example, a single term colony to refer to all residences of Adivasi community that were traditionally known by different names) replace such unique identities to legitimise caste invasion at a local level: that gave me insights into the false binary between division and unification (see Sections 5.4; 6.2.1).

Although the questions of language and power were not my focus of enquiry, similar themes emerged from the participants' informal dialogues. Moreover, some of them were related to the way participants oppress each other using language: I saw one participant wearing a turban, a dress code similar to elite caste Hindus or the Sikhs in North India (see Figure Eighteen, P 259; Section 6.2.1). During the course of my fieldwork, I noticed some of his fellow-members using 'Sikh' in front of his name to make people laugh (27.09.13). I could not discuss these issues in evaluation meetings due to confidentiality considerations. However, I did manage to explore how members of the public marginalise the Adivasi community. Interestingly, participants also commented that they remain silent in meetings because their fellow-members laugh at them when they pronounce Malayalam incorrectly or make any mistakes (see Section 5.5). Although I did not include them due to word limitations, I managed to explore this issue in its relationship between caste invasion and imitation and resistance (see Section 6.2.2).

Similarly, oppression/marginalisation may also occur when the researcher differentiates a language or translates certain words[9]. Therefore, the issues of translation may also marginalise the participants. As Freire (2000) emphasizes, the empirical dimensions of reality become petrified and lifeless in banking education. This can happen when I translate people's stories into English. Therefore, there are issues in translating similar Malayalam concepts to English, which is evident from my informal dialogues with the Paniya women on my first visit to a town in Southern Wayanad (see p158).

[9]In Kerala, to differentiate between 'foreign' liquor (വിദേശമദ്യം) and 'local liquor' (നാടൻമദ്യം) a person may consider 'foreign' as 'high quality' or 'brand new' but the 'local' or നാടൻ means 'low quality', 'uncivilised', 'ancient' or 'traditional.' Similarly, people also use the term നാടൻപാട്ടുകൾ to refer to folk music, which forms part of a culture of the Adivasi community culture. Ajithkumar (2013) argues that people may interpret നാടൻപാട്ടുകൾ (folk songs) as 'low quality' or 'simple' music, just as they differentiate നാടൻമദ്യം-local liquor with വിദേശമദ്യം-foreign liquor in their dialogues in Kerala. However, the English word 'folk' does not replace people's interpretations of നാടൻ or local as before.

I am conducting this research as part of my PhD programme in England and I am writing my thesis in English. However, the empirical research takes place in Kerala and the participants and I form a dialogue in either Malayalam or the language of the Adivasi community in Edakkal. Since only the Kuruma community are formal participants, all my communication was in Malayalam. Although my dialogue with non-formal participants within other Adivasi communities was not easy, it did not bring such barriers as I expected. Moreover, as I learned from Foucault (1980), referring to this thesis may marginalise the non-Malayalam readers who have little or no command over the Malayalam language. In order to minimise this, a list of Malayalam words including their English meanings has been included at the beginning of this thesis. Participants' narratives in Malayalam are translated to English.

2.1 Language and discourse and marginalisation in dialogue with the participants

As evident from Foucault, discourse is the link between knowledge and power. In his work *History of Sexuality,* Foucault (1990:92) reminds us of that the term power has misleading connotations; importantly, power should not be understood in relation to sovereignty when discussing discourse:

> By power I do not mean 'power' as a group of institutions and mechanisms that ensure the subservience of the citizens of a given state. By power, I do not mean, either, a mode of subjugation which, in contrast to violence, has the form of the rule. Finally, I do not have in mind a general system of domination exerted by one group over another, a system whose effects, through successive derivations, pervade the entire society.

According to Foucault, power is a disciplinary kind of network lacking a definite centre. Foucault discusses two forms of power: sovereign power, which is explicit, and disciplinary power, which is less-visible or implicit. Power executed by a King, ruler or a president of the nation are examples of sovereign power. This form of power assesses tax and enforces law. Those who violate rules and norms are given penalties. On the other hand, disciplinary power is executed by people who represent the sovereign authority or rule in everyday interactions with their own rules. Foucault (1990:92) further writes that there is no binary opposition between the ruler and the ruled:

> The omnipresence of power: not at all because it regroups everything under its invincible unity, but because it is produced at every instant, at every point, or moreover in every relation between one point and another. Power is everywhere: not that it engulfs everything, but that comes from everywhere.

Foucault discusses the pervasiveness of power that is diffuse in its execution, coming from everywhere and acting upon everyone in the society. Foucault (1990:95) also writes that 'where

there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power.' Foucault argues that people cannot always be inside power, and they cannot completely escape from it. Resistance to power has a multiplicity of points in the same way as the execution of power takes place on multiple points: power is everywhere and thus the points of resistance are also everywhere in the network of power.
It is in this context that power has to be understood in terms of disciplinary power not sovereign power in its relationship with discourse. As evident from Foucault, people can resist sovereign power because it is explicit and people can experience the execution of power; but, it is more difficult to identify disciplinary power as it is implicit, and thus it is hard for people to locate and resist its execution. This difficulty arises due to the fact that there has been a shift in the nature of the execution of power historically. Foucault calls the medium of execution discourse. For example, the discourse of caste is a medium in which people talk about caste oppression and the way they resist oppression and power. In the evaluation meetings, I stated to the participants the shift in the nature of oppression drawing on Foucault. The participants (Rajan and Sumesh) reframed Foucault with their metaphors of 'power asamoeba' and 'people as chameleons', educating me and their fellow participants (see Table twenty-nine, p152; and Section 5.1).

As evident from Foucault (1980; 1990; 1991) discourse is a system of thought or a conversation in which people make certain claims; it exists independently of a particular speaker. When people engage with certain forms of knowledge they construct their own self and perception of the world. This constructed-self shapes our acceptance of unequal power relations. Discourse determines what is to be discussed by people. Simultaneously, people engaging with knowledge challenge or reconstruct such norms as prescribed by discourse. Discourse enables us to execute and resist power. Therefore, the domain of discourse is not a division between the dominant discourse and the dominated discourse. For example, Ritchie and Rigano (2001) reveal that in their experience of fieldwork the participants may be powerful on one occasion but may be powerless on another occasion.

Discourse is the social medium in which disciplinary power operates. Furthermore, discourse exists in the form of language or a group of statements for articulating knowledge in an effective way. It produces topics of discussion and influences people to talk effectively, thereby regulating the behaviour of others. Foucault argues that no knowledge has meaning outside discourse. For Foucault, discourse does not simply mean what has been discussed or what has been spoken: discourse is about who has spoken, what has made him speak and the context of speech. Any

form of language should be understood on these grounds. Freire (2000:96) writes, 'often, educators and politicians speak and are not understood because their language is not attuned to the concrete situation of the people they address. Accordingly, their talk is just alienated and alienating rhetoric.'

Freire (1995; 2000) shows us that educators may execute power or marginalise their colleagues in dialogue, deliberately or not; they should not impose any forms of language or theory on others. Otherwise, the dialogue becomes an authoritarian monologue, a tactic of banking education. For example, Kattunaikkans is the name of an Adivasi community in Kerala. In this community, this word means 'hunters' or those who live in forests. However, some people in my village use this term to describe someone who is very rude or someone with very dark skin. The use of such term in this context may lead to marginalisation since some participants in Edakkal may belong to this community.

Similarly, Fina (2011) talks about her experience of forming dialogue with some members of a family. The participants told Fina that the term *matta* in one part of Italy refers to girl; however, in another part of Italy it means mad, which may hurt people or make them laugh. For Freire and Macedo (1995), in order to explore such hidden forms of marginalisation, people must unpack the discourse that creates such languages or statements. Like Foucault, Freire also discusses both the explicit and implicit execution of power. Drawing on these ideas, Giroux argues that Freire considers power as ubiquitous; power is not simply a form of domination imposed by the state through agencies including police, army and courts. Domination is also imposed by ideology, technology and culture. Nonetheless, Freire (1985:177) writes of dialectical relationships of power in contrast to Foucault:

> The difference between the educator and the student is a phenomenon involving a certain permanent tension, which is, after all, the same tension that exists between theory practice, between authority and freedom, and perhaps between yesterday and today.

Freire argues that educators should not let these differences become antagonistic. It is evident from Freire that banking education is a means to execute power and problem–posing education is a means to resist power. However, Foucault rejects these sorts of analysis; Foucault argues that there is no complete execution of power and there is no total escape from the domain of power. Despite these tensions between Foucault and Freire in understanding power, both scholars' ideas inform me to take important precautions: power and its discursive production of language can cause the participants or me to implicitly oppress or marginalise each other when forming dialogues.

Being a problem-posing researcher, my initial plan was to discuss these issues with the participants. The participants also reflected on how language exists differently in their informal dialogues: 'I spoke both Malayalam and Kuruma like my fellow members; in this area we do not follow the official accent when talking in Malayalam, for example the sound e..de..kku (SIC) replaces the original word 'evidekku' (to mean 'where') in this area, which may make you laugh' (Sumesh, one-to-one dialogue, 29.09.13). Participants spoke Kuruma or Malayalam with a northern Kerala accent in meetings and events. Although I found it bit difficult to understand they later translated to me in evaluation meetings. However, they spoke in formal Malayalam to a greater extent in one-to-one dialogues and evaluation meetings; this did not bring those issues I originally expected above.

In his book, *Power and Knowledge*, Foucault (1980: 341) writes, 'we know perfectly well that we are not free to say just anything that we cannot simply speak of anything, when we like; not just anyone, finally, may speak of just anything.' Discourse shapes the way people speak and vice-versa; it is not necessarily written or verbal forms, but may also include non-verbal expressions such as gestures, body language or symbols. A non-professional may not understand certain language terms used in a dialogue. Those who have less command over a particular language may be silent or restrain themselves from communication. Drawing on Foucault, Fairclough (2001) argues that a person who speaks a language may have immediate access to or detachment from power. It depends upon how his language is accepted or not in a particular discourse. He thus detaches himself from power or access power by regularly using certain languages.

For example, in my classroom, English was the accepted mode of communication as (see Section 2.3.3). Language was a barrier for students, including myself, to communicate ideas effectively. The teacher, on the other hand, was fluent in English. The lack of expertise in this language limited my opportunity to express my thoughts. Command of a language may make people execute power and marginalise others in their dialogue. For example, people in my country use English vocabulary terms while having a dialogue in Malayalam in classroom discussions, seminars or TV shows. This may reinforce the experience of marginalisation of a native Malayalam speaker who has no command of English. However, this is unavoidable for the following reasons. I learned many languages, apart from Malayalam, as part of my formal education. Moreover, I must present papers and talk in English in classroom seminars or professional interviews in my country.

These concerns reminded me to avoid speaking English words when forming dialogues. In contrast, participants had a different opinion: ‘I do not think this is a problem; it is an opportunity for us to learn English; my grandmother now started learning English vocabularies from us’ (Binumol, one-to one dialogue, 06.10.13). Similarly, Rajan replied to me when I accidentally mentioned ‘actually’ while talking in Malayalam: ‘I am fine with English terms; if you say ‘actually’ I would be in trouble. hahaha (all are laughing)’ (Evaluation meeting, 29.10.13). Kannan then commented: 'I understand every English vocabulary that is related to farming; because I learned many terms from the meetings of KRISHI BHAVAN’ (Evaluation meeting, 29.10.13).

Therefore, meetings provided an opportunity to learn each other’s language in the form of dialogue despite creating narration sickness. I learned some Kuruma and Paniya dialects from the participants when they translated to me in the same way they learned many English concepts from me when listening to my conversation about Freire; many participants mentioned the terms ‘marginalisation’ and ‘banking’ in follow-up meetings. The above narratives reflect the way participants and I educated each other in dialogues despite implicitly executing power (see Sections 5.1; 6.1).

As I learned from Freire (1978), problem-posing researchers must reflect on the language of people. Like Freire, Anderson and Butler (1982) argue that the classroom must focus on students’ language and the students must reflect on how language relates to their life. Similarly, the marginalised community must critically look at how others refer to them in day-to-day conversation. For example, a member of a Dalit community in a documentary (Kapikkadu, 2007) says, ‘If one upper caste person while having a conversation with his colleague makes a mistake, the other one asks him ‘Why do you talk like a Pulaya?’. Similarly, when I shared the narrative of a leader from the literature (see Section 1.2), Thomas told me how the Adivasi community are marginalised in contemporary Kerala’s society:

> For example, if you say anything stupid, the non-Adivasi community members say ‘Don’t talk like a Paniya.’ It means he is as ignorant as the Paniyas. They also say ‘the Paniyan tribes do not work,’ ‘tribes do not have to bother as they get everything free.’ (Informal dialogue, Dialogue, 19.03.12)

For, Thomas, this shows their caste attitude and intolerance towards the Adivasi community. The non-Adivasi community still treat them as outcasts or untouchables. People’s attitudes never change. When Thomas talked about the attitude of his former staff members, I shared the similar thoughts of one of my relatives with him: ‘Why don’t you move out to the city side? It is a colony.

Isn't it? There are all Pulayas and Parayas here' (Informal Dialogue with my relative, 12.09.10). I reside in a small village where people who are Dalits form a majority. In our society, living in a congested area is not prestigious. It is a Government maintained property. My neighbours and I occupy no more than 2.5 cents (1089 square feet) of land. This may be the reason my relative told me to leave the 'colony.'

These people's comments display the domination of banking in relation to language and discourse. As Freire (2000) emphasizes, the oppressor justifies his/her own existence by projecting absolute ignorance onto the oppressed. Similarly, the members who belong to a dominant community may position themselves as fluent speakers and their marginalised colleagues as the opposite. The Adivasi community and I may not be able to pronounce complex Malayalam vocabularies as a literary activist can, because we were outside of the formal education system due to the practice of caste. Similarly, Chen (2011:125) shows that a non-native researcher is in a weak position to obtain information from native participants. This may narrow the scope of the problems they discuss in the dialogue.

As Freire (2000) argues, people must critically understand how their thoughts and language are socially constructed in order to communicate effectively. Of course, I too anticipated some potential communication problems causing me to take some precautions. So, my idea was to negotiate the mode of dialogues and seek volunteers' support if they wished to speak their own dialect. Surprisingly, most participants code-switched, showing their command over English. Moreover, one participant, Rajan, had a quick look at my thesis and identified some technical errors in the glossary. He had only completed his primary education and was not trained in an English medium school either; it made me revisit the teacher-researcher and student-participants relationships and become aware of the potential of participants to emerge from caste oppression and marginalisation beyond false binaries (see Chapters Four-to-Six). There is much in the literature on issues of language and discourse and power in classroom communication. However, they do not emphasize how these issues matter in research dialogues. This is why I extended the concepts of language and power into my research. Concisely, dialogical interview is not merely a critical tool to investigate marginalisation with the participants but also to explore and avoid the possibilities of marginalisation in forming dialogue with them. This experience inspired me to observe people's behaviour through informal dialogues; identify potential communication barriers; and the attitude of people towards the drinking habits of the Adivasi community (see Section 4.1.1).

However, their colleagues from the Paniya community were not formal participants in this research because they did not come to our initial meetings. The absence of Paniya community in my initial meetings taught me to view meetings and participation as oppression and to look at the way people marginalise meetings. Moreover, these learning experiences were crucial in refining Freire's (notions of banking and problem-posing education beyond false binaries.

APPENDIX THREE

INVITATION LETTER TO POTENTIAL PARTICIPANTS

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TO

12-06-2013

ഞാൻ ശ്യാം പ്രസാദ് കെ. വി) ഇംഗ്ലണ്ടിലെ വിഞ്ചസ്റ്റർ സർവകലാശാലയിലെ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസ വിഭാഗത്തിലെ ഒരു മുഴുവൻ സമയ പിഎച്ച്ഡി ഗവേഷണ വിദ്യാർഥിയും സ്റ്റാഫ് അംഗവും ആണ്. പാർശ്വവൽക്കരണവും വിദ്യാഭ്യാസവും കേരളത്തിൽ പ്രൈറെയുമായുള്ള സംഭാഷണത്തിലൂടെ എന്നതാണ് പഠന വിഷയം. കൂടുതൽ വിവരങ്ങൾ ഈ ക്ഷണക്കത്തിനോടൊപ്പമുള്ള ലഘുലേഖയിൽ ചേർത്തിട്ടുണ്ട്. പ്രസ്തുത ഗവേഷണത്തിന്റെ ഫീൽഡ് വർക്കിലേക്ക് താങ്കളെ ക്ഷണിക്കുവാനും പഞ്ചായത്തിന്റെയും കുടുംബശ്രീയുടെയും സംയുക്ത ആഭിമുഖ്യത്തിൽ ഒരു അയൽക്കൂട്ടവും ഒരു ആദിവാസി സമുദായ സംഘടനയും തമ്മിലെ അംഗങ്ങളായ ആദിവാസി സമൂഹത്തിൽ പെട്ട ഏതാനും പങ്കാളികളെ തെരഞ്ഞെടുക്കുവാൻ അഭ്യർഥിക്കുവാനും ഈ എളിയ അവസരം ഞാൻ വിനിയോഗിക്കുന്നു. അതിനു മുന്നോടിയായി താഴെ പറയുന്ന വിവരങ്ങൾ താങ്കളെ അറിയിക്കാൻ സർവകലാശാലയുടെ എത്തിക്കൽ കമ്മിറ്റി നിഷ്കർഷിക്കുന്നു.

Respected Sir/Madam

Sub: fieldwork in Southern Wayanad [September-November 2013]

I, Syamprasad KV, am a full time student/ staff at the University of Winchester (United Kingdom), studying for a degree in Doctor of philosophy in Education and the research project entitled In dialogue with Freire: Searching for new ways of understanding marginalisation and education in Kerala[9] forms part of this course (see the project information sheet attached). You are invited to take part in this project. Before you decide to participate, it is important you understand what the project involves and what you will have to do. So, please take time to read the following information.

പങ്കാളിത്തം: താങ്കളുടെയൊ അയൽക്കൂട്ട/സമുദായ അംഗങ്ങളുടെയൊ പങ്കാളിത്തം തികച്ചും സ്വതന്ത്രമായിരിക്കും. പങ്കെടുക്കുന്നവർക്ക് ഭക്ഷണവും യാത്രാ ചിലവുകൾക്കും മറ്റാവശ്യങ്ങൾക്കുമായി ഒരു തുക ഓണറേറിയവും നൽകുന്നതാണ്. യാതൊരു കാരണവും ഇല്ലാതെ ഈ ഫീൽഡ് വർക്കിൽ നിന്നും ഏതു സമയവും പിന്മാറാൻ ഉള്ള അവകാശം അംഗങ്ങൾക്കുണ്ട്. ഇത് മൂലം അവർക്ക് യാതൊരു സാമ്പത്തിക നഷ്ടവും ഉണ്ടാകുകയില്ല.

Participation: Your participation in this research project is entirely voluntary. However, you will be provided food and all incidental expenses of the project will be met out of my grant. You are free to withdraw at any time without giving reason and without penalty.

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9. This title is now revised: Oppression, marginalisation and education in Kerala: In dialogue with Freire

ക്രമീകരണങ്ങൾ: മൂന്നു പഠന രീതികൾ ആണ് ഇതിൽ ഉള്ളത്. 1. അയൽക്കൂട്ട/സമുദായ യോഗങ്ങളിൽ താങ്കളോടൊപ്പം പങ്കെടുക്കുക. 2. അഭിമുഖ സംഭാഷണങ്ങൾ 3. ചർച്ചകൾ. പരമാവധി 8 പേരെ പങ്കെടുപ്പിക്കാൻ ഉദ്ദേശിക്കുന്നു. ആരൊക്കെ പങ്കെടുക്കണം, എപ്പോൾ, എവിടെ എന്നൊക്കെ താങ്കൾക്ക് അംഗങ്ങളുമായി കൂടി ആലോചിച്ചതിനു ശേഷം തീരുമാനിക്കാവുന്നതാണ്. ഈ വരുന്ന സെപ്റ്റംബർ പകുതിയോടെ ആരംഭിച്ചു നവംബർ ആദ്യ വാരം ഫീൽഡ് വർക്ക് പൂർത്തിയാക്കാനാണ് ഞാൻ ആഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നത്.

Procedure: You or your NHG community members will be interviewed during a time is most convenient to you/ the members, and your/members' preference will be of the utmost importance when fixing the date, time and venue of the interview, conversation or discussion. I look forward to conducting the field work between the middle of September and the first week of November 2013.

വിശ്വാസ്യത: പങ്കാളികൾ വെളിപ്പെടുത്തുന്ന കാര്യങ്ങൾ പഠനാവശ്യങ്ങൾക്കു വേണ്ടി മാത്രമേ ഞാൻ ഉപയോഗിക്കുകയുള്ളൂ. പറയുന്ന കാര്യങ്ങളുടെ രഹസ്യ സ്വഭാവം ഞാൻ എപ്പോഴും സൂക്ഷിക്കും. സ്വകാര്യ സംഭാണങ്ങളിൽ ആരുമായും അത് പങ്കു വക്കില്ല. പങ്കാളികൾ ആവശ്യപ്പെട്ടാൽ അവരുടെ പേരു പ്രബന്ധത്തിൽ ഉൾപ്പെടുത്തുന്നതല്ലായിരിക്കും. ഒരിക്കൽ പറയുന്ന കാര്യങ്ങൾ പിന്നീടു തിരുത്തുന്നതിനോ പിൻവലിക്കുന്നതിനോ പങ്കാളികൾക്ക് പരിപൂർണ അവകാശമുണ്ട്. ഇക്കാര്യങ്ങളിൽ ഞാൻ എപ്പോഴും സർവകലാശാലയുടെ ഗവേഷണ വിഭാഗത്തിൻറെ (**University Research & Knowledge Exchange Ethics Committee and British Educational Research Association (BERA).**) നിയമാവലികൾ പാലിക്കാൻ ബാധ്യസ്ഥനാണ്. സർവകലാശാല ഗവേഷണ എത്തിക്കൽ കമ്മിറ്റി ആണ് ഈ ഗവേഷണം അംഗീകരിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നത്

Confidentiality: The information or ideas you share will be confidential and you will not be able to be identified should the work be published. Your name will nort be disclosed to anybody or in any part of the writing produced in this project. I will abide by the ethical guidelines of the University Research & Knowledge Exchange Ethics Committee and British Educational Research Association (BERA)

Who has approved the study? The study has been approved through the procedures outlined by the University Research & Knowledge Exchange Ethics Committee.

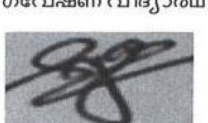
മേൽവിലാസം:
ഈ പഠനവുമായി ബന്ധപ്പെട്ട് എന്തെങ്കിലും സംശയങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ടെങ്കിൽ താങ്കൾക്ക് എന്റെ സൂപ്പർവൈസറോട് അന്വേഷിക്കാവുന്നതാണ്-Dr Wayne Veck, EHSC RKE Ethics Committee and Senior Lecturer in education, University of Winchester, United Kingdom SO22 4NR wayne.veck@winchester.ac.uk താങ്കളുടെയും അംഗങ്ങളുടെയും എല്ലാവിധ സഹകരണങ്ങളും പ്രതീക്ഷിക്കുന്നു. ഒരിക്കൽ കൂടി ഈ ഗവേഷണത്തിലേക്ക് താങ്കളെ വിനയപൂർവ്വം ക്ഷണിച്ചു കൊണ്ട് നിർത്തുന്നു.

Contact for further information: If you have any queries about the nature of your participation or the purpose of the project please do not hesitate to contact in the address below.

I shall be grateful to you if you could let me access your NHG to undertake the study. I look forward to hearing from you.

എന്ന് വിശ്വസ്തതയോടെ Yours faithfully
ശ്യാം പ്രസാദ് കെ വി, Syamprasad K.V, Research Student
ഗവേഷണ വിദ്യാർഥി വിഞ്ചസ്റ്റർ University of Winchester സർവകലാശാല

12 AUG 2013



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APPENDIX FOUR

PROJECT INFORMATION SHEET FOR POTENTIAL PARTICIPANTS

In dialogue with Freire: Searching for new ways of understanding marginalisation and education

കേരളത്തിലെ പാർശ്വവൽക്കരണവും വിദ്യാഭ്യാസവും ഫ്രൈറെയുമായുള്ള സംഭാഷണത്തിലൂടെ

ബ്രസീലിയൻ പണ്ഡിതനായ പൌലോ ഫ്രേയേറെയുടെ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസ ചിന്തകൾ ആണ് മേല്പറഞ്ഞ ഗവേഷണ വിഷയത്തിനാധാരം. കേരളത്തിലെ ആദിവാസി സമൂഹത്തെക്കുറിച്ച് ധാരാളം ഗവേഷണങ്ങൾ ഇതിനോടകം തന്നെ ഉണ്ടായിട്ടുണ്ട്. താങ്കളും ഒരു പക്ഷെ ചിലതിൽ പങ്കാളിയായിട്ടുണ്ടാകും. ഇന്ന് താങ്കളും ഞാനും ഉൾപ്പെടെയുള്ള ജനത കേരളത്തിന്റെ പൊതുധാരയിലും വിദ്യാഭ്യാസ മേഖലയിലും പല രീതികളിൽ മാറ്റി നിർത്തപെടുന്നു . ജാതി, പുരുഷ, വർഗ കേന്ദ്രീക്രത സമൂഹം ആണ് ഇതിനു കാരണം എന്ന് പഠനങ്ങൾ തെളിയിക്കുന്നു. കൂടാതെ കുടുംബശ്രീയെ ക്കുറിച്ചും മറ്റു പരമ്പരാഗതമായ സാമൂഹിക പ്രസ്ഥാനങ്ങളെ ക്കുറിച്ചും (ഗോത്ര മഹാസഭ, SJPS) പഠനങ്ങൾ നടന്നിട്ടുണ്ട്. എന്നാൽ ഈ പ്രസ്താനങ്ങളെല്ലാം സാമൂഹിക പ്രശ്നങ്ങൾക്ക് എതിരേയുള്ള ഒരു വേദിയായി മാത്രമാണ് ഇതുവരെ നാം മനസ്സിലാക്കിയിരിക്കുന്നത്. പൌലോ ഫ്രേയേറെയുടേ ചിന്തകളിലൂടെ വിലയിരുത്തുമ്പോൾ ഈ പ്രസ്ഥാനങ്ങളെല്ലാം സമൂഹത്തിന്റെ തന്നെ ഒരു വിഭാഗം ആണ് എന്ന് കാണാൻ കഴിയും. കൂടാതെ ഇതിനുള്ളിൽ തന്നെ നടക്കുന്ന ചർച്ചകളും സംവാദങ്ങളും ഒരു വിദ്യാലയത്തിലെ പഠന രീതികൾക്ക് സമാനമാണ്.

The Brazilian scholar Paulo Freire's educational thoughts are the basis of this research. There are many empirical studies on the Adivasi community in Kerala. You might have participated with them. Today, many people like us are marginalised in Kerala's mainstream. There is much literature to prove that caste, class and gender based social structure is responsible for this. In addition, there is literature on Kudumbashree and community organisations as platforms for female and Adivasi empowerment respectively. As evident from Freire, such organisations are parallel with schools.

വിദ്യാലയങ്ങളും മേല്പറഞ്ഞ പ്രസ്ഥാനങ്ങളും തമ്മിലുള്ള ബന്ധം അനാവരണം ചെയ്യുക ആണ് നമ്മുടെ ലക്ഷ്യം. സമാന്തര വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം ഇത്തരം പ്രസ്ഥാനങ്ങളിൽക്കുള്ളിൽ നടക്കുന്നത് എങ്ങനെ? എങ്ങനെയാണ് വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം തന്നെ പാർശ്വ വല്ക്കരണത്തെ പുനർ നിർമ്മിക്കുന്നത്? എങ്ങനെയാണ് വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം പാർശ്വവല്ക്കരണത്തെ നേരിടുന്നത്? സമകാലീന ഗവേഷണങ്ങളിലൂടെ കടന്നു പോകാത്ത ഇത്തരം പ്രശ്നങ്ങൾ ആണ് നമ്മുടെ പഠന വിഷയം. ഈ പഠനത്തിനു വേണ്ടി തെരഞ്ഞെടുത്തിരിക്കുന്നത് ..... പഞ്ചായത്തിലെ ഒരു കുടുംബശ്രീ അയൽക്കൂട്ടവും ഒരു ആദിവാസി സമുദായ സംഘടനയുമാണ്. നാലു പേർ വീതം ഇരു സംഘടനകളിൽ നിന്നും അകെ എട്ടു പേരെ ഗവേഷണപങ്കാളികൾ ആയി സ്വീകരിക്കാമെന്നാണ് ഞാൻ ഇപ്പോൾ ഉദ്ദേശിക്കുന്നത്.

Therefore our task is to explore the relationship between school and self-help groups: How we educate each other in these organisations as in a school? How non-formal education may contribute to marginalisation in these organisations? How education deals with marginalisation? The so-called literature on marginalisation does not address these issues. Therefore, we need to explore similar issues while sharing our experiences. I have selected one Kudumbashree NHG and one Adivasi Community organisation in ..... Grama Panchayat; and I will accept four people from each, which constitute a toatal of eight participants from your colleagues.

പരമ്പരാഗതമായ ഗവേഷണ രീതികളിൽ നിന്നും തികച്ചും വ്യതസ്തമായ ഒരു ഗവേഷണ രീതി ശാസ്ത്രം വികസിപ്പിച്ചെടുക്കാൻ ഞാൻ പരമാവധി ശ്രമിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. സാധാരണ ഗവേഷകർ ചെയ്യുന്നത് പോലെ ഇതിനു ഒരു കൃത്യമായ ഒരു ചോദ്യാവലി ഇല്ല. കാരണം അത് മുൻ വിധിയോടെ പ്രശ്നങ്ങളെ പഠിക്കാനെ ഉപകരിക്കൂ എന്ന് ഫ്രൈറെയിൽ നിന്നും വായിച്ചെടുക്കാൻ നമുക്ക്കഴിയുന്നു. ഇത് ഗവേഷകൻ തന്റെ ചോദ്യങ്ങൾക്ക് സ്വയം ഉത്തരം നല്കുന്നതിന് തുല്യമാണെന്നും ഗവേഷകനും ഗവേഷണ പങ്കാളികളും ഒരുമിച്ച് പുതിയ ജ്ഞാനശാഖ ഉൽപാധിപ്പിക്കാനുള്ള സാധ്യതകൾ ഇല്ലാതാക്കുന്നു എന്നും അദേഹം കൂട്ടിച്ചേർക്കുന്നു. ആയതിനാൽ നിരീക്ഷണങ്ങളിലൂടെയും അഭിമുഖങ്ങളിലൂടെയും നമ്മൾ അനുഭവങ്ങൾ വിവരിക്കുകയും തുടർന്ന് അവയെ ഒരുമിച്ച്വിശകലനം ചെയ്യുന്നു.

I have tried my best to develop a unique methodology as different from the conventional approaches. We will not use any closed questions as the traditional researchers do. For Freire, those who do so just answer their own questions and thereby limit the possibilities of co-constructing knowledge in dialogue with the research participants. Consequently, we together research events in your neighbourhood group and community organisation, share common experiences and then analyse our learning experiences dialogically.

സിദ്ധാന്തങ്ങളെ അവസാന വാക്കായി കണ്ടു കൊണ്ട് അവയെ അതുപോലെ തന്നെ പകർത്തി ജീവിത അനുഭവങ്ങളെ പക്ഷപാതപരമായി വിശകലനം ചെയ്യുന്ന രീതിയല്ല നാം ഇവിടെ സ്വീകരിക്കുന്നത്. മറിച്ച് നമ്മുടെ ജീവിതങ്ങൾ എങ്ങനെ ഫ്രേയേറെയുടെ ചിന്തകളെ പ്രതിരോധിക്കുകയൊ വിപുലീകരിക്കുകയോ നവീകരിക്കുകയൊ ഒക്കെ ചെയ്യുന്നത് എന്ന കണ്ടെത്തലിലൂടെ ആണ് ഈ പഠനം താത്കാലികമായി അവസാനിക്കുന്നത്. കാരണം അറിവും അറിവ് സമ്പാദന രീതികളും ഒഴുകുന്ന നദി പോലെ അസ്ഥിരമാണ് എന്ന് ഫ്രേയേറെ വിരൽചൂണ്ടുന്നു.

In this study, we no longer consider knowledge as a static reality and apply them as such to conduct a partial analysis of our stories. On the contrary, we will look into our stories talk back to the theories that others has created for us. We will end up our study temporarily while co-constructing knowledge to challenge, extent or refine Freire's thoughts. This is because 'Knowledge is unfinished'- Says Freire.

APPENDIX FIVE

CONSENT FORM (CDS CHAIRPERSON AND ADIVASI COMMUNITY LEADER)

TO

THE UNIVERSITY OF WINCHESTER

In dialogue with Freire: Searching for new ways of understanding marginalisation and education in Kerala

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CONSENT FORM

I have read (or had clearly explained to me) and understood the information about the project. I understand that my participation in this project is completely voluntary. And that I may withdraw at any time during the project, without penalty. Furthermore, I have read the opportunity to ask questions about the research project before consenting to participate.

I understand the arrangements that have been made to ensure my anonymity and privacy. I also understand that the researchers will abide by the expectations of the University Research Knowledge ethics policy, and by the ethical guidelines published by the British Educational Research Association (BERA)

On this basis, I consent to take part in the project and authorise Mr Syamprasad KV to access our Kudumbashree/community organisation meetings and take photo/video of events.

Name :

Signed. .... Date.

APPENDIX SIX

CONSENT FORM (PARTICIPANTS)

THE UNIVERSITY OF WINCHESTER

കേരളത്തിലെ പാർശ്വവൽക്കരണവും വിദ്യാഭാസവും ഫ്രൈരെയുമായുള്ള സംഭാഷണത്തിലൂടെ: ഒരു പുനരവലോകനം [In dialogue with Freire: Searching for new ways of understanding marginalisation and education in Kerala, India]

സമ്മത പത്രം [CONSENT FORM]

ഈ പഠനവുമായി ബന്ധപെട്ട് ശ്രീ ശ്യാം പ്രസാദ് വിശദീകരിച്ച കാര്യങ്ങൾ ഞാൻ മനസിലാക്കുന്നു. 2013 സെപ്റ്റംബർ പകുതിയോടെ ആരംഭിച്ച് നവംബർ ആദ്യ വാരം പൂർത്തിയാക്കാ-ൻ ഉദ്ദേശിക്കുന്ന ഈ പ്രൊജക്ടിൽ/ ഫീൽഡ് വർക്കി-ൽ എൻറെ പങ്കാളിത്തം സ്വതന്ത്രമാണെന്നും എപ്പോൾ വേണമെങ്കിലും ഉപാധികളില്ലാതെ പിന്തിരിയാനുമുള്ള അവകാശം എനിക്ക് ഉണ്ടെന്നും ഞാൻ മനസിലാക്കുന്നു. ഇതിൽ പങ്കാളിയാകാൻ സമ്മതിക്കുന്നതിനു മുൻപ് സംശയങ്ങൾ ദൂരീകരിക്കാൻ എനിക്ക് അവസരം ലഭിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്.

Mr Syamprasad KV had clearly explained to me and I understood the information about his research project titled above and the fieldwork which is scheduled between the middle of September and the first week of November 2013. I understand that my participation in this project/fieldwork is completely voluntary, and that I may withdraw at any time during the project/fieldwork, without penalty. Furthermore, I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the research project/fieldwork before consenting to participate.

വിശ്വാസ്യതയും സ്വകാര്യതയും ഉറപ്പു വരുത്തുന്നതിനുള്ള ക്രമീകരണങ്ങളും ഗവേഷകൻ ഏർപ്പെടുത്തിയിട്ടുള്ള കാര്യം എനിക്ക് അറിവുള്ളതാണ്. കൂടാതെ വിഞ്ചസ്റ്റർ സർവകലാ ശാലയുടെ ഗവേഷണ എത്തിക്കൽ കമ്മിറ്റിയുടെയും ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് വിദ്യാഭാസ ഗവേഷണ സംഘടനയുടേയും നിർദേശങ്ങൾ പാലിച്ചു കൊണ്ടാണ് ഈ പഠനം നടക്കുന്നതെന്ന് ഞാൻ മനസിലാക്കുന്നു.

I understand the arrangements that have been made to ensure my anonymity and privacy. I also understand that the researchers will abide by the expectations of the University Research Knowledge ethics policy, and by the ethical guidelines published by the British Educational Research Association (BERA). On this basis, I consent to take part in this project/fieldwork.

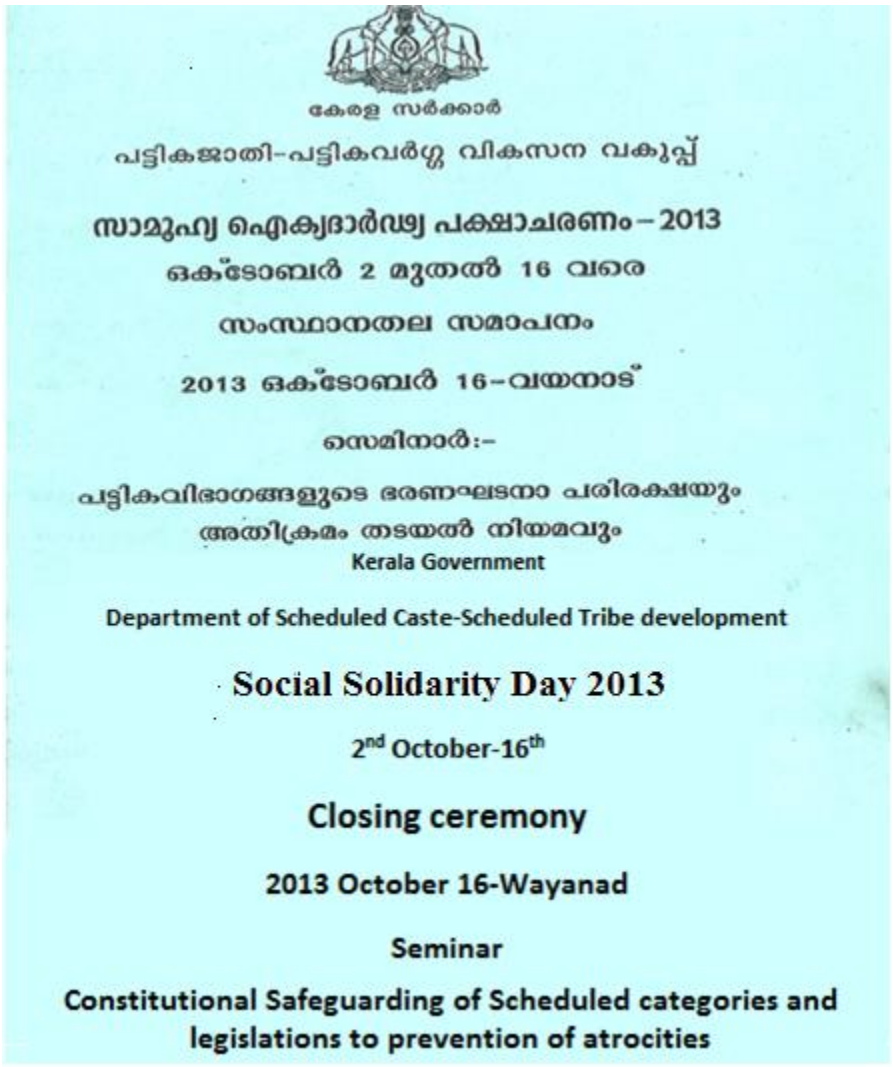
മേൽപറഞ്ഞ വസ്തുതകളുടെ അടിസ്ഥാനത്തിൽ ഞാൻ ഈ ഗവേഷണ ഫീൽഡ് വർക്കി-ൽ പങ്ക് ചേരാൻ സമ്മതിക്കുന്നു.

പേര്/Name :

ഒപ്പ്/ Signed. തീയതി/ Date: .....

APPENDIX SEVEN

INVITATION LETTER (SOCIAL SOLIDARITY DAY)



കേരള സർക്കാർ

പട്ടികജാതി-പട്ടികവർഗ്ഗ വികസന വകുപ്പ്

സാമൂഹ്യ ഐക്യദാർഢ്യ പക്ഷാചരണം – 2013

ഒക്ടോബർ 2 മുതൽ 16 വരെ

സംസ്ഥാനതല സമാപനം

2013 ഒക്ടോബർ 16-വയനാട്

സെമിനാർ:-

പട്ടികവിഭാഗങ്ങളുടെ ഭരണഘടനാ പരിരക്ഷയും
അതിക്രമം തടയൽ നിയമവും

Kerala Government

Department of Scheduled Caste-Scheduled Tribe development

Social Solidarity Day 2013

2nd October-16th

Closing ceremony

2013 October 16-Wayanad

Seminar

Constitutional Safeguarding of Scheduled categories and legislations to prevention of atrocities

APPENDIX EIGHT

Invitation letter (Tribal Cultural Festival)